

Gikinoo'amaagowin Anishinaabeg
(Teaching the Anishinaabe People)

By

Ogimaa Ginewikwe

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Abstract

This thesis analyzes the roles and responsibilities of Anishinaabe Ogichidaakwe (woman warrior) using Anishinaabe and Western methodologies. As an Anishinaabekwe I use Anishinaabe language to engage in my responsibility to learn and share the language. In this thesis I move in and out of two different ways of knowing adapting to two epistemologies. While moving between Anishinaabe and Western epistemologies I located an ethical space where my spiritually connected and culturally grounded perspective is recognized. I examine and reconstruct the political/leadership, social, and spiritual roles and responsibilities of Ogichidaakwe over a critical period of change, 1632 to 1871. Anishinaabe leadership knowledge and practice experienced a shift as the Anishinaabeg community adapted to the experience of European contact. This shift is recognized after braiding together literature that is outlined in my thesis as the shift, colonial impact and absence. Of particular interest are women-based Aadizookaanag (Anishinaabe narrative with a scared being or spirit in it) and women-based Aadizookaanan (Anishinaabe narratives and ancient stories), and how these narratives are connected to Ogichidaakweg roles and responsibilities. I interconnect the Jiisikaan (shake tent), ethnohistorical, and historical as methodological approaches in my research in search of Debwewin (truth). Therefore, both the content and methodology of this thesis adds to the body of knowledge to the field of Indigenous Studies.

Key Words:

Anishinaabe, methodology, Anishinaabe-izhichigewin, Ethical Space, Women's Roles, Ogichidaakwe, Jiisikaan, Shake Tent, Ojibway, Anishinaabemowin, Anishinaabe language, Indigenous.

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Acknowledgements - My Teachers¹

According to Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin (custom),² and as Kathleen Absolon wrote, “[my] cultural identity precedes [my] academic identity. [I am] both Anishinaabe[] and [a] scholar” (2011, 112). For this reason, I will acknowledge my cultural teachers first. My maternal grandparents are the late Isabel Daniels (Longclaws), of Dakota descent, and Donald Daniels, of Niikawe,³ and Scottish descent who live in Long Plain First Nation. My late paternal grandparents are Moise and Flora McIvor (Richard) from Gaa-wiikwedaawagaak (Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nation).⁴ They are from European and Ojibway backgrounds. My first teacher is nindoodoo (my mother), Dianne Daniels-Miness who is from Gaa-ginooshkodeyaag (Long Plain First Nation). She is the eldest of eleven children born in her family. She attended residential school and is a fluent Anishinabemowin speaker and teacher. My second teacher is nidede (my father), the late Howard McIvor Sr., a residential- school survivor and fluent Anishinaabe speaker who has taken his journey to the spirit world. I acknowledge my two primary teachers, niniigi’igoog (my parents). I acknowledge my knowledge which stems from my parents, my grandparents and my spiritual teachers. I also want to acknowledge nijaanisag (my children) who are Wabshkiibenishkwe (White Bird Woman), Sabehmaymay gwaycii (White Giant Man), Gizhigookwe (Sky Woman)⁵ and noozhizag (my grandchildren) Makwe (Bear) and Tyeanna. My children are my gifts who anchor my creation teachings and have been influential in my development as a human being and as an academic. My children and grandchildren are my gifts; they anchor my creation teachings and have been influential in my development as a human being and as an academic. It is my honour to dedicate my thesis to them.

I am especially thankful to meet Morris Lafort, interpreter and Jiisakiiwininii (male practitioner of the shake tent), Elsie Lafort, Jiisakiiwikwe (female practitioner of the shake tent)

and their grandson Dylan Courchene, language interpreter and Jiisakiiwininii. Elsie Lafort performed the Jiisikaan ceremony at my request to provide guidance to my thesis work and I hold her in high regard. I thank her graciously, as it was her gift that was needed to complete this thesis. With the assistance of these people and their gifts, this thesis encompasses the spiritual element that was needed and in the end was vital in developing my understanding of Ogichidaakwe (woman warrior) maanidooke-gikendaasowin (sacred knowledge or spirit knowledge acquired at ceremony). Thanks to Annie Boulanger, who was my Anishinaabemowin (Anishinaabe language) instructor, and Darren Courchene, who is my colleague for his language clarification and life instruction.

As a scholar who participates in the Western academic way of doing and knowing, I have many teachers I want to acknowledge. First and foremost I want to recognize Dr. Julie Pelletier for her time, energy, patience, understanding and guidance; she supported my cultural teachings and created a space for my work in the Indigenous Studies Department at the University of Winnipeg. I would like to thank Dr. Nemogá for his academic analyses which resulted in an increase of determination and drive to complete this project. I would like to thank Dr. Romanow for taking the time to have many heartfelt discussions and lend me encouragement. Without these three individuals I would not have developed my academic skills in the way I did. Lastly, I would like to thank Cheyenne Henry, Eric Benson and Shelley Reid who were so positive and influential in terms of administrative direction. Additional acknowledgements go to all the Elders at the University of Winnipeg and the support staff at the University of Winnipeg Aboriginal Student Service Centre.

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Chapter One - Giidoniimikoon (Welcome to My World)⁶

Writing from an Anishinaabekwe Perspective

Nindoodem Waawaateg. Gaa-ginooshkodeyaag zhigo Gaa-wiikwedaawagaak nindoonji.

Ogimaaginewikwe nidizhinikaaz. My clan is the Northern Lights Clan. Inez Hilger found the

Northern lights were ascribed to the thunderbird, to electric storms raging in the far north, to reflection of the sun on snow, ice, or water, to currents of wind in high elevations, or to spirits or ghosts dancing far to the north. The people said last night when the northern lights played (Vermillion Reservation, August 19, 1939) that the souls of the old people who lived long ago as well as those who died recently were dancing (1951, 106).

I am from Long Plain and Sandy Bay First Nations. My name is Queen Eagle Woman.⁷

Following my Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin, I introduce myself in this way. For these reasons my primary motives was to learn about Anishinaabe women's leadership roles. Afterward I wanted to give the Anishinaabe community insight into some Anishinaabe teachings, as part of my Anishinaabekwe (Anishinaabe woman) responsibilities. In addition to this I want to honour my spirit name, Ogimaaginewikwe and to honour my Anishinaabe Waawaateg Doodem (Northern Lights Clan). I will honour my spirit name and clan by sharing the teachings I have received throughout my life journey.

Clarifying my motives is critical to giving back to my community, expressing my personal commitment, and reflecting on why I carried out this research. Motives are what academics and Elders want to know before they accept you to a program or teach you as a student. Kathleen Absolon shares a statement from one of her research participants,

Personal reasons generally underlie motive. Searching, for Indigenous searchers, is more than a project or dissertation. Why do research? Why do we choose the topics we do? Why do we situate ourselves within our searches? Knowing our motives for our searches requires an awareness of our location and consciously situating ourself within our research context (2011, 79).

Using my Anishinaabe-inendemowin (way of knowing) and Anishinaabe-izhichigewin (way of doing) allowed me to creatively build new and valid knowledge to academia moving beyond standard, historical methodologies (Miller 2010, 12). However, these “new” Anishinaabe methods and methodologies are not new to the Anishinaabeg, these methods and methodologies and “old” research practices. Therefore, I provide a model of Indigenous research using an Anishinaabe spiritual method, the Jiisikaan. Kulchyski, McCaskill and Newhouse state that their research was completed “to reflect the system of thought of Aboriginal peoples and to portray it as a legitimate and valid system that has much to offer” (1999, xiii). My hope is that this work gives all readers an appreciation and understanding of the Ogichidaakweg (women warriors). More importantly, I hope my thesis benefits the Anishinaabe community in a way that can communicate teachings that may have been forgotten or overlooked throughout the course of mainstream history. In addition to this, the audience I write for first is Gookoomisinaanig (grandmothers, both literally and spiritually) and Gimishomisinaanig (grandfathers, both literally and spiritually)⁸ and then Anishinaabeg, who include children, Elders, women, undergraduates, graduates, and finally those who are interested in the Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin (way of life).

My experience of living as an off-reserve status and treaty Anishinaabekwe helped me understand the Western ways of knowing and doing. At the same time my Anishinaabe language instruction ceased in exchange for what my mother saw as an opportunity that her children would benefit from two worlds. To read and write the hegemonic language, English, was a difficult task. I am continually in the process of developing an “ambidextrous consciousness.” Absolon writes in her work,

All Indigenous re-searchers who maintain their identity within the academy are bi-cultural, having what Leroy Little Bear (2000) calls an “ambidextrous consciousness.” This ambidextrous consciousness allows us to negotiate the dualities of being

Indigenous in a euro-colonial society. We occupy multiple spaces and are consciously bi-cultural. There is diversity within. We are skilled at carrying dual knowledge sets. This is an advantage. It enables us to move in and out of and between our worlds with relative ease (2011, 111).

My social reality became the challenge of interconnecting the Western worldview and pedagogy while at the same time acknowledging my Anishinaabe worldview and pedagogy. Maintaining balance between my Anishinaabe-inendemowin and the Western way of knowing was central to becoming a master of both worldviews and pedagogies. As I try to understand and function between two worlds, which is a pedagogical implication that Western and Anishinaabe ways of doing have dictated for me, I am able to acclimatize to two different epistemologies. After gaining the comfort level that was needed to operate in two ways of thinking and knowing, the processes that I went through became contextualized. Once I understood that these two worldviews do indeed have a long standing relationship, then, by locating the ethical space where these two worldviews collide and interconnect, I felt comfortable moving in and out of them (Little Bear 2000, 84-85; Absolon 2011, 111). For example, I can identify with Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair in “Tending To Ourselves”:

My identity, though, is mediated through my own and my community’s sense of Anishinaabe-ness, and all roads come through it. Regardless of what one thinks about this position as being hybrid, the fact remains that my identity is (in)formed most significantly by viewing the centrality of my Anishinaabe roles and responsibilities (2010, 249).

The two languages used here, English and Anishinaabemowin, interact in a reciprocal relationship, a dialogic. The use of Anishinaabe words is a fundamental part of this thesis and includes inserting Anishinaabe words in the text to fulfil my responsibility as an Anishinaabekwe. In the Anishinaabe way I also include these words to acknowledge

Anishinaabemowin, a language given to us by the “one who gives life” (Daniels 2005, 107).⁹

Some scholars use the word Creator (Benton-Banai 1988, 2) manidoo or gichi manidoo (Warren 1984, 64; George Copway 1850, 8; Miller 2010, 7), Great Mystery (Johnston 1995, xv), the Supreme Being (Brown and Brightman 1988, 35), or Master of Life (Warren 1984, 63) to identify the ‘one who gives life.’ In my Anishinaabe way of knowing, Anishinaabe words all have teachings and concepts within them. The problem of translating Anishinaabe words and concepts into English exist as noted by Dennis and Richard Morrison in Ruml’s work (2012, 156).

For the last three years, I have been engaged in relearning Anishinaabemowin and I will make every effort to use the language correctly. If I make any mistakes or wrong conclusions, please remember they are solely my mistakes. The first occurrence of an Anishinaabe term will be followed in parentheses using an English translation. Anishinaabemowin is an oral language, there is a great deal of variety in spelling words, and I am also more comfortable in using Patricia Ningewance’s style and the double vowel spelling system she uses in her dictionary *Zagataagan: A Northern Ojibwe Dictionary* (1996). In addition to this, I will use the spelling within a quote or what has been suggested by the author when citing and referencing from a source. If the word cannot be found in Ningewance’s work then I will use another dictionary source. A cited endnote will provide a definition of the word when necessary and the word will also be part of a lexicon at the beginning of this thesis.

Providing Context

I will explain the migration of the Anishinaabeg to the Treaty One¹⁰ geographical area before discussing the Ogichidaakweg. This is important since Anishinaabekwe have strong ties to the land. Primarily, the women made the decisions to move their communities (Etienne and Leacock 1980, 29; Carter 1999, 23). Sarah Carter found that women made these decisions based on their intimate understanding of their environments (1999, 25). The Anishinaabeg acknowledge the eastern shores of the Atlantic as being the initial home of the Anishinaabe nation (Benton-Banai 1988, 1; Smith 1973, 12; Warren 1984, 30). A gradual westward movement over hundreds of years from the Atlantic coast along the St. Lawrence River to the Great Lakes region is embedded in oral teachings passed on by Elders, and it is confirmed by archeology (Cleland 1992, 4-5; Treuer 2011, 36). According to Treuer this east to west movement was driven by spiritual beliefs and economic incentives (2011, 36). Anishinaabeg consulted the Jiisikaan and a range of other ceremonies to ask for spiritual guidance concerning migration.¹¹ For example, Hallowell writes in a footnote,

The woman conjurer, Blue-Robed-Woman, tells how she undertook her first séance because they were threatened with starvation. Advised by one of her helpers she directed the Indian to move west (1971, 67).

The name Anishinaabe and its origin was preserved by Anishinaabe Elders over centuries; it is still how many Anishinaabe identify themselves. According to Angel “If pre-contact members of the Ojibwa had been asked how they identified themselves, they would have replied that they were Anishinaabeg, the “First or True or People” (2002, 6). The new men and women were beings made out of nothing called “Anishinaabeg, or Spontaneous beings” (Warren 1984, 56; Johnston 1976, 15). Similarly, other scholars state that Anishinaabe is a standard word

for ‘original man’ (Howard 1965, 6; Broker 1983, 9). Edward Benton-Banai breaks down the word in Anishinaabemowin, “what it means: ANI (FROM WHENCE) NISHINA (LOWERED) ABE (THE MALE OF THE SPECIES)...He was part of Mother Earth” (1988, 3-4) [upper-case lettering appears in the original]. There are multiple Anishinaabe creation stories, however the one oral story I use indicates that first came creation, followed by destruction, followed by re-creation, when the first people were created (Johnston 1976, 15). I privilege this Creation story because it resembles the teachings I received from my grandfather during my younger years. Benton-Banai explains further, “The Earth is said to be a woman. In this way it is understood that woman preceded man on Earth” (1988, 2). I will use the word Anishinaabe since it is the word I was raised with, and is supported by Benton-Banai’s analysis of the first Ogichidaakwe, Mother Earth.

In the Anishinaabe understanding Ogichidaakwe is an esteemed leadership title for a woman. The Ogichidaakweg are esteemed for dignity, character and natural leadership. It is a leadership role that can be symbolically represented by a three-strand braid, crossing the Anishinaabe social practices within the civil, military, and spiritual spheres. Anton Treuer shares,

Among nineteenth-century Ojibwe there were three main types of leadership — civil, religious, and military. Each realm required different responsibilities and often involved different people. Sometimes a person of rare gifts could assume positions of authority in more than one area (2011, 14).

Winona LaDuke provides an example of an Ogichidaakwe, her friend “Ogitchidaakwe Mikwedaagozid” (2002, 196). LaDuke says that in Ogitchidaakwe Mikwedaagozid’s life and struggle for self-determination, she remained culturally rooted, she was part of the drum society and participated in the Midewewin Lodge. Her qualities included sharing knowledge, teaching, and having courage, bravery, humility, grace, and patience. LaDuke writes, “She was a true

leader, an *Ogimaakwe*, and an *Ogitchidaakwe*, one who defends the people” (196). This explanation provided by LaDuke is the way I would like the reader to understand the definition of an Ogichidaakwe. A second leadership role Anishinaabe women are identified as and closely aligns with an Ogichidaakwe is the role of Ogimaakwe (woman civil leader). Basil Johnston defined an Ogimaa(kwe) as “a man or woman who counted many followers” and it is in this context I will use this word (1995, 23).

Research Problem/Questions

I use the beginnings of historically recorded colonial policy in Western Canada around 1632 and formation of Hudson’s Bay Company in the 1640s up to the year before the negotiations of Treaty One, 1871, as a specified time for this research (Carter 1999, 11, 23). I start from the year 1632 since this is the first historical record of a woman that I use in this thesis. It is important to note motives of colonization by the colonizer in this research. Reuben Thwaites states four motives of colonization which include economic motivation to attain wealth, political restructuring, religious reorganization, and exploratory events of the territory (1913, 46). Initial contact with Anishinaabe leadership was established primarily with the French or English, who were among the first European settlers who came to North America. The Ogichidaag/Ogichidaakweg and Ogimaag/Ogimaakweg (men and women warriors/men and women civil leaders) would have come forward to speak on behalf of all Anishinaabe to the Europeans.¹² Other spokespersons in Ogimaag and other leadership roles may have come forward as well (Miller 2010, 1-2). Miller identifies other leadership roles may have included, assistants such as the oshkaabewisag (pipe carriers), gichi-midewijig (Medewiwin leaders), or gichi-Anishinaabeg (village headmen) (2010, 132, 73, 89-90). Cory Willmott and Kevin

Brownlee argue “European diplomats at first found the plethora of chiefs inconvenient for developing political relationships, particularly in forming alliances in times of war” (2010, 60). Thwaites describes the Indian as being difficult to deal with and having a weak system of government, noting there was no responsible leader (1913, 13). European men assumed Native societies were similar to their own male-dominated society (McGowan 2006, 54). Not long thereafter the Ogichidaag adapted to new ways of knowing and adopted leadership roles similar to that of the Europeans. As a result of contact and colonial policy, the role of leadership shifted toward Ogichidaag or other male political and civil leadership roles at some point in history (Kugel 1998, 72). For these reasons, my research looks to describe the roles and responsibilities of Ogichidaakweg before contact with Europeans. How were these roles and responsibilities affected by contact? The time period being covered is before 1632 up to 1871. Many details and events are only touched upon for reasons of brevity to meet requirements of this master’s thesis. This master’s thesis only gives a snapshot of the depth and breadth of Anishinaabe Ogichidaakweg roles and responsibilities as well as other Anishinaabe phenomenon that are part of Anishinaabe history.

Ogichidaakweg Gikendaasowin (Women Warrior Knowledge)

As an Anishinaabekwe who follows Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin it was difficult to write a literature review, because I was taught not to interfere with the teaching and learning process of other people and their works. In *When the Other Is Me*, Emma LaRocque confirms, “It is imperative that we treat with respect other people’s works upon which we build our dialogics and, for many of us, our academic degrees; it is also important to maintain our right to disagree” (2010, 32). In constructing the review of literature, I wanted to build on other dialogics, and

when LaRocque clarified that this is not interfering and that it is disagreeing, an academic right, I was more comfortable doing a literature review.

In the literature review diverse approaches and perspectives emerged including decolonizing and critical resistance approaches and indigenous and anti-colonial perspectives. Interestingly, numerous feminist perspectives are a large part of the literature review, which was not planned. The diverse approaches and perspectives from other scholarly works were helpful in understanding the shifts, impacts, and the absence of literature describing Indigenous and Anishinaabe women's leadership roles and responsibilities. In the course of colonialism, core societal relationships were affected, namely gender roles and identities among Anishinaabeg.

The Shift and Colonial Impact

Kim Anderson (2000) used a decolonizing approach in her work when defining Native women. She found that Native women's sense of identity has undoubtedly been influenced by European cultures, primarily French and English. Similarly, Andrea Smith (2005) used an anti-colonial perspective coupled with a critical-resistance approach to describe the continuing use of patriarchal tools against Native women. Furthermore, Anderson states that the identity and power of female roles were dismantled through colonization (2000, 58). From her Cree/Métis perspective and decolonizing approach, Anderson identifies diverse roles of Native women prior to the arrival of European settlers. Sylvia Van Kirk's detailed ethnohistoric account describes the shift in Indigenous women's rights:

In reality the Indian woman may have enjoyed an easier existence at the fur-trade post, but she sacrificed considerable personal autonomy, being forced to adjust to the traders' patriarchal views on the ordering of the home and family (1999, 16).

In the Enfranchisement Act of 1869, the status of Native women and marriage to non-Indians or to Indians of other bands altered a Native women's identity (*Historical Development of the Indian Act 1978*, 55). The Anishinaabe were forced to adopt the patriarchal practices of European legislation,

Clause six stipulated that, if an Indian woman married a non-Indian, she and her offspring would neither be entitled to collect annuities, be members of her band, nor be Indians within the meaning of the Indian Act. If she married an Indian from another band, however, she could receive annuity as a member of his band. Moreover, their children would be considered as Indians belonging to that band or tribe under the terms of the 1869 Act (1978, 55).

In this legislation, the Enfranchisement Act of 1869 defines who is an Indian and also dictates acceptable cultural practices. In *Cree Narrative Memory*, Neal McLeod discusses how the Indian Act is the imposition of an alien political structure. He argues that the Indian Act undermined traditional spirituality, as "Canada tried to impose cultural hegemony" (2007, 83), which is the ability to impose dominant cultural ideas on other people. Anishinaabe Elders and the community practiced ceremonies until there was an interruption by colonial legislation. Indigenous peoples experienced alienation from these ceremonial practices, but yet resisted the colonial policies. This is essential to this discussion for the reason that ceremonies, stories, and language are interconnected and are spiritually centred. Marie Battiste (2002) explains how ceremony is part of Indigenous knowledge and a process originating from creation. She provides the concept of "connectedness" about the knowledge of indigenous people during ceremony and research when she writes,

Traditions, ceremonies, and daily observations are all integral parts of the learning process. They are spirit connecting processes that enable the gifts, visions and spirits to emerge in each person (2002, 14).

This is important, because Anishinaabe creation includes ancient stories that are women-centered as part of the Anishinaabeg worldview that will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter Three.

Anishinaabe identity and knowing specific roles within the community are important aspects of Anishinaabe everyday living. In *When The Other Is Me*, LaRocque concedes that although the Indian Act has determined identity and locality Native people have also preserved resistance to colonization (LaRocque 2010, 10). Nonetheless, community roles upheld by ceremony shifted when colonial settlers made their homes on Anishinaabe lands.

The INAC document, *Historical Development of the Indian Act* (1978) identifies the manner in which policies were implemented, followed, and endorsed through an unnamed legislation passed in 1670 by the British Parliament (*Historical Development of the Indian Act* 1978, 3). Such legislation, policies and directives would have impacted the Ogichidaakweg role since these policies, directives and legislation was largely characteristic of patriarchal practices. This legislation gave instructions and control to governors or colonial commissioners to relate with the “Indian” and included how to devise the process through which “Indians” would be educated in Christian teachings. Later, in the mid-eighteenth century, two objectives emerged. The first paradoxical objective identified the promise to protect “Indians” from the destructive aspects of “white society” until they received education at an acceptable level determined and adjudicated by that same “white society.” Whereas, the *Historical Development of the Indian Act* 1978 uses the words “Indian” and “White,” I will only use these words in this explanation.¹³ The second paradoxical objective was protection of “Indian” lands. Both objectives are paradoxical since “Indians” had an education system that was ignored and then later education standards were determined by “white standards” not the Anishinaabe (or other indigenous) standard. The second paradoxical objective was to “protect” Indian lands. Indian lands have been largely taken

without honouring original treaty agreements since European arrival. These examples of colonial policies have roots in the pre-confederation period, before 1867, and yet can be identified in the post-confederation period as well (*Historical Development of the Indian Act* 1978, 1).

The colonization process also impacted the Anishinaabe way of life. Katherine Pettipas (1994) writes, “The ‘civilization’ and ‘assimilation’ of Indians into the dominant society through paternalistic social programs and legislation were long-term objectives supported by the Canadian government” (1996, 41). There were policies written to manage Indians and define them, which the Crown-in-Right of Canada formulated through the *Indian Act, 1876* (Robinson and Quinney 1985, 22). Support for enforced colonial policy can be found in a circular dated December, 15, 1921. This circular was authored by Duncan Campbell Scott, who was then the Deputy Superintendent General of the Department of Indian Affairs. He writes,

You should suppress any dances which cause a waste of time, interfere with the occupations of the Indians, unsettle them for serious work, injure their health or encourage them in sloth and idleness (Department of Indian Affairs, circular).

Further to this, *The Historical Development of the Indian Act* (1978) states, “Indians had also been forbidden to perform certain ceremonies and dances...without Agent permission” (150). Although these letters are not gender specific, banning any traditional Anishinaabeg ceremony would impact the entire community and the positioning of the Ogichidaakweg.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, colonizers enforced through the aforementioned legislation the banning of ceremony. This seriously interfered with Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin. In the *Historical Development of the Indian Act*, there is reference made to forbidding the performing or dancing among Indians [sic] (1978, 150). This was enforced in the colonial legislation known as the *Indian Act* (1876) although the restrictions were later removed by amendments and excluded in the 1952 Indian Act. This specific restriction changed the way

the Anishinaabe transferred valuable gikendaasowin through ceremony and dance from grandparent to grandchild. Without this connection that crossed three generations, the Anishinaabe gikendaasowin was displaced and suppressed. The banning of ceremonies prevented the Ogichidaakwe from giving proper instruction to the oshki-niigikweg about the importance of ceremony. The result was a loss of identity and a breakdown in Ogichidaakwe roles and responsibilities, causing a change in gender and cultural practices.

The Absence

Records and materials on Native women are obscured by being sparse and widely scattered making it multifarious to begin with Native women's invisibility (Albers 1983, 7). Scattered materials are difficult to unearth and braid together from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century from numerous documents, archives and other locations on the subject of Native women. More specifically, there is a lack of detailed information about their roles in governance. Sylvia Van Kirk points out that most research leaves out the subject of the complex women's positions (1999, 16). Christine Miller and Patricia Chuchryk argue that the problem with historical research about women is that:

Historians rely upon documentary evidence that was generated by predominantly male EuroCanadian government officials, missionaries, or other observers. A further problem with these record keepers is that they were concerned to a much greater degree with the activities and transactions of men; they regarded as insignificant or misunderstood the role of women in Aboriginal society (1996, 55).

Theda Perdue, describes in her book how European men controlled historical records in the United States experience (2001, 4). In the Canadian context, Sarah Carter writes that records documenting Aboriginal and European relations from the seventeenth century to the early

twentieth century were one-sided (2007, 6). This is problematic because roles of women were distinct within Anishinaabeg society. It becomes evident that elements of Ogichidaakweg roles and responsibilities are not acknowledged in Western discourse. In the *Occasional Papers of the Champlain Society*, Jennifer Brown writes about documentary editing and refers to the voice(s) in women's history, noting unequal privileges of past voices and the intervening processes that all voices must pass through (1992, 11). James Howard's work, *The Plains-Ojibwa in 1965*, the *Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799-1814*; *My First Years in the Fur Trade, 1802-1804* by George Nelson; Frances Heron's *Winnipeg Post Journal, Journal of Occurrences Kept at Fort Garry red river Settlement from 1st June 1827, 31st May 1828*; Henry Youle Hind's *Journal, Of Some of the Superstitions and Customs Common Among the Indians in the Valley of the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan, 1859*; James Sutherland's *Journal, Shell River 1794-1795, A journal of Weather, People Employment and other Occurrence kept at Brandon House red river, August 29, 1794* where he kept records at Brandon House and Shell River in a *Post Journal*; and Peter Fidler's, *A Journal of a Journey with the Chipawyans or Northern Indians to Slave Lake & to the East and West of the Slave River in 1791* all lack the voice of Anishinaabekweg (Anishinaabe women's) descendants and thus the much needed Anishinaabekwe perspective is left out.

Frances Densmore (1929), in her ethnological study entitled *Chippewa Customs* offers a large amount of information about the Anishinaabe, including their clan system, dwellings, marriages, dreams, dances, music, and stories and legends. Similarly, Sister Bernard Coleman, Ellen Frogner, and Estelle Eich (1962) focus their book on outlining Anishinaabe storytelling and preserving Anishinaabe narratives. They state in their foreword that, through the stories presented in their book, they want to describe aboriginal social and spiritual beliefs. Although

Densmore (1929) and Coleman et al. (1962) both obtain a vast amount of information, they give no discussion of women's leadership roles or their connection to aadizookaanan (sacred narratives) and dibaajimowinan (experiential teachings of narrative and oral histories). For example, Densmore writes about the aadizookaanan and dibaajimowinan and says these stories were told for amusement purposes; but Densmore does not understand how these teachings were connected to the foundation of Anishinaabe leadership. Similarly, Sister Inez Hilger (1951) gives descriptions of childhood and the cultural background of the Anishinaabeg in her anthropological study. She also outlines her own purpose of studying the Anishinaabe, for the benefit of future generations of Anishinaabeg. What is missing from Hilger's (1951) work is the importance of Anishinaabeg life principles, which are taught to children from birth. For example, one teaching of the Nookomis Ghiizhiik (Grandmother Cedar) aadizookaan tells the importance of living in balance. Cary Miller's contemporary ethnohistoric study emphasizes the importance of a culture's worldview and defines how Anishinaabe view power and authority through a discussion on plants and animals (2010, 3). Other Anishinaabe gikendaasowin (knowledges), which describe Anishinaabeg power and authority, such as the Inaakonigewin (the matter of law) teachings are omitted by Miller. All these previous research also leaves out the aadizookaanag (Anishinaabe narrative with a sacred being in it) and the difference between aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag. Without knowing Anishinaabe culture in an intimate way, it would be difficult for these researchers to understand the conceptual and social reality of the Anishinaabeg.

Anishinaabe scholars have on occasion have made inaccurate suppositions. For example, Anishinaabe scholar Anton Treuer argues that a woman rarely had leadership roles in the civil arena and, if women did have these roles, they were lesbians (2011, 26). According to other sources, women's roles included a strict authoritative stance regardless of gender and/or sexual

preference; women situated themselves in the backdrop of society after colonization, but were still influential and able to command respect through advising and making ruling decisions for the men to follow (Brandt-Castellano 1989). Interpretations made by European commissioners, missionaries, traders, and early researchers regarding the roles of indigenous women may have been distorted through a foreign Eurocentric lens (Brandt-Castellano 1989, 45). Treuer's study does indicate the closeness and overlaps of the military and civil leadership roles (2011, 9, 22). What is lacking in the literature thus far is a focus on women's leadership roles and responsibilities.

Another notable Anishinaabe scholar, Tricia McGuire-Adams in her MA thesis, *Ogichidaakweg Regeneration* includes ground-breaking knowledge and teachings of the Ogichidaakwe (2009). She shares that these teachings are not widely known and that she gained primary-source material from interviewing Elders, mostly from Ontario. These Elders offer definitive and spiritually based perspectives with a seasoned understanding of the language with teachings that have been passed down from generation to generation. In her work, McGuire-Adams challenges the effects of colonialism and frames remedies for these effects within the foundation of empowerment through Anishinaabekweg ideology and radical indigenous feminism. What is missing in her work is ethnohistorical and archival data on warrior leadership roles of Ogichidaakweg, most likely due to her not using archival sources when gathering data. In my own research, I found bits of information within archival sources that identify some Ogichidaakwe roles and responsibilities from Anishinaabe and non-Anishinaabe primary and secondary sources.

Chapter Two - Theory, Methods, Methodology

Theory - Writing from a Spiritually Connected and Culturally Grounded Perspective

Willie Ermine, Raven Sinclair, and Bonnie Jeffery (2004) incorporate the notion of the ethical space as a framework for a new paradigm for research with Aboriginal people. I chose to use this paradigm in my research. Ermine et al. explain,

The concept of the ethical space provides a venue within which to articulate the possibilities and challenges of bringing together different ways of coming to knowledge and applying this theory to the practice of research (2004, 16).

Ermine et al. note that Roger Poole (1972) coined the term “ethical space” in his book *Towards Deep Subjectivity* identifying it as an interaction between two entities with different intentions framing the encounter as an abstract space, an ethical space (2004, 19). Between the Western sphere of knowledge and the Indigenous sphere of knowledge there is a neutral space, a common ground to create an ethical/moral understanding between these two cultures (Ermine et al. 2004, 20). The positioning of a neutral zone is where ethical space provides a “fragile window of opportunity [that] exists” for a relationship between the Western and Indigenous knowledge systems (Ermine et al. 2004, 20).

In *Aboriginal Epistemology*, Willie Ermine writes that “Aboriginal people [are] on a valid search for subjective inner knowledge in order to arrive at insights into existence” (1995, 102). The subjective inner knowledge and practice are the underpinnings of the Anishinaabe epistemology from which Anishinaabe theory can be acknowledged. In the growing body of Anishinaabe literature, the Anishinaabe and other indigenous scholars are acknowledging and using the processes of indigenous theory. Shawn Wilson writes that research is ceremony and indigenous peoples are bringing relationships together that “honors our systems of knowledge and worldviews” (2008, 8).

I am expressing my cultural teachings within my research and I honour my Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin. My engagement with Anishinaabe teachers and Elders has contributed to my personal understanding in learning how Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin (Anishinaabe knowledge) is gained, instructed, and constructed over time directly from sources of Anishinaabe Elders.¹⁴ These Elders are ceremonial leaders who are experts in the field of doctoring, herbal knowledge, and ceremony. Although I have experienced marginalization through colonial processes in my life, I am fortunate to have received gichi gikinoo'amaagewinan (ancient Anishinaabe teachings) (Benton-Banai 1988, 5),¹⁵ continuously throughout my life. In my research, I opened the door to the Gookoomisinaanig who have been guiding me in this research journey, acknowledging what Cree/Métis educator Myra Laramée emphasized in Anderson's (2000) work. Although this quote is in the context of guiding non-Native women, the quote also identifies the way Native women seek guidance from their grandmothers as I did in this research. As quoted in Anderson, Laramée counsels non-Native women advising them to seek guidance from their grandmothers in search of positive female identity,

That's part of the problem with your culture—you close that Western doorway. Your grandmothers are standing there waiting for you to ask the question. You are just not arrogant enough to ask. Even though western culture does not encourage us to work with our ancestors (especially the dead ones), *that doesn't mean they don't have anything to offer!* (2002, 30).

By acknowledging and using the ethical space paradigm in my thesis I am able to, not only enact my culturally grounded theoretical framework, but also use my culturally grounded methodology. For these reasons, my theoretical framework and my methodology are culturally grounded in the Indigenous way of knowing and doing (Kovach 2009, 116).

Martin (2001) writes that according to the researcher's worldview, assumptions will differ thus when the researcher completes the data analysis stage, criteria, categories and themes will be influenced by this worldview. Therefore, a discussion on Inaakonigewin is needed, because these teachings are from Anishinaabe worldview and directly related to the way Anishinaabeg perceive power and authority. This Anishinaabe leadership gikendaasowin is passed down from generation to generation from Elders through oral methods of teaching. Anishinaabe Inaakonigewin is braided into the Anishinaabe social fabric and known as the "matter of laws" or law (Nichols and Nyholm 1995, 66, 204; Ningewance 1996, 233; Baraga 1992, pt. 1, 155, 186). Inaakonigewin is the reflection of Anishinaabe law, governing structures, customs, ethics, way of life, and the way in which the family and community are shaped by understanding these teachings (Kulchyski et al. 1999, xvi). The Anishinaabe teachings I received at the Jiisikaan confirmed that niizhwaaswi gikinoo' amaagewinan (seven teachings), mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life),¹⁶ and onjinewin (what you do to creation will come back to you in some form) are life teachings which are a part of the Inaakonigewin and Anishinaabe way of ogimaawiwin (governing).¹⁷

Within the Inaakonigewin these three teachings guide a leader when making decisions that include niizhwaaswi gikinoo' amaagewinan, mino-bimaadiziwin, onjinewin, and – a fourth teaching underpinning these first three teachings maada'oonidiwin (sharing)¹⁸ based on my understanding. I was trained from birth to follow these teachings and grew up practicing them. This framework of thinking comes from my geographic area of Gaa-ginooshkodeyaag and Gaa-wiikwedaawagaak. These are the primary teachings I learned from by my cultural teachers and that I have followed in my life journey. I did not realize these teachings were a part of a

framework until I began re-learning some Anishinaabemowin and thinking critically about these teachings.

Anishinaabe scholars share the niizhwaaswi gikinoo' amaagewinan (Simpson 2011, 68, 108, 124-127; McGuire Adams 2009, 18) and Edward Benton-Banai refers to as these as the "Seven Grandfather Teachings":

- (1) To cherish knowledge is to know **WISDOM**.
- (2) To know **LOVE** is to know peace.
- (3) To honor all of Creation is to have **RESPECT**.
- (4) **BRAVERY** is to face the foe with integrity.
- (5) **HONESTY** in facing a situation is to be brave.
- (6) **HUMILITY** is to know yourself as a sacred part of Creation.
- (7) **TRUTH** is to know all of these things (2010, 64).

In contrast, Mark Ruml's (2011) work with two Anishinaabe ceremonial leaders, Giigwaygigaabo and Bebahmoytung, reveals a variation between the niizhwaawi gikinoo' amaagewinan found in the *Mishomis Book* and their understanding.¹⁹ The niizhwaawi gikinoo' amaagewinan are referred to by Ruml's sources as the core of what they call "Gagige Inaakonige," "The Eternal Natural Laws." Giigwaygigaabo notes that he and Bebahmoytung were taught thus:

- (1) nibwaakan (wisdom)
- (2) zhaagi (love)
- (3) manade osiseon (respect)
- (4) mangade'e (courage)
- (5) debwe (truth)
- (6) bandan (humbleness/humility)
- (7) zhewaadiz (kindness/peace/sharing).

Note that Ruml's sources replace "honesty" with "kindness/generosity." According to Giigwaygigaabo,

Honesty is the thought and the interpretation of what took place or transpired. It is manipulated by the thought of what happened, it is a mental process. Honesty can be manipulated. Honesty is the idea of what "truth" really is. Truth comes from the heart, it is a lived experience (2012, 165).

Giigwaygigaabo and Bebahmoytung provide the Anishinaabe word for each of these teachings and provide a brief interpretation of the meaning of the words. They also note that instead of sharing, respect is the underlying cultural value (2011, 163-165). In their understanding, sharing is one of the seven teachings and sharing is a way of being respectful. Furthermore, they are quick to point out the problems with translating concepts from Anishinaabe to English and the problems with writing down the teachings. As Ruml notes, Elders that he interviewed "all echoed the problems with writing down the teachings, the experiential nature of learning, and the in-process, ever changing and evolving understanding, interpretation, and expression of the teachings" (2011, 158).

A second teaching that is embedded within the Inaakonigewin is the focus on achieving, but more importantly maintaining mino-bimaadiziwin which is defined as the "good life" by many Anishinaabe scholars (Ningewance 1996, 245; Baraga 1992, pt. 2, 38, 80; Nichols and Nyholm 1995, 32; Simpson 2011, 26; Kulchyski et al. 1999, xv; Bedard 2009, 49; Wilson, 6; Peers 1987, 45-46). Balance is key in the achievement of a good life. This balance is explained by Benton-Banai (1988) when he states, "To live a harmonious life, one must reach a gwa-yah-koo'-shka-win' (balance) between opposing forces" (Benton-Benai 1988, 36). Mino-bimaadiziwin is training and teachings that assist in the development of good thoughts and a good way of living. It helps Anishinaabe to learn patience, understanding, and to be non-

judgmental. This teaching is good not only for the individual to practice; it is also good practice and good development for the Anishinaabe community. Anishinaabe scholar Winona LaDuke, in the foreword for Carol Schaefer's *Grandmothers Counsel the World* Winona writes,

Within the wellspring of the teachings presented in this book is a path toward sustainability, what my people call *minobimaatisiwin* [sic], or "the good life." These teachings remind us that it is essential to reciprocate with our relatives, to be thankful, and to check our own behavior... (Schaefer 2006, xii).

Onjinewin is the third teaching within the Inaakonigewin. It teaches that actions have consequences. Onjinewin is hard to define, but can be translated to this: *a mistreatment of any part of Creation could lead to negative outcomes for an individual and their loved ones* (Matthews and Roulette 2003, 278-279; Rogers 1962, D23). Ignatia Broker confirms this understanding,

We believe that all returns to its source; that both good and bad return to the place where they began. We believe that if we start a deed, after the fullness of time it will return to us, the source of the journey. If care is not used when the circle is begun, then the hurts along the way will be received in the end. Such is the belief of the true Ojibway (1983, 56).

As I understand it, onjinewin means that the deed is one's own fault and that one will have to pay the debt sooner or later. When a wrongdoing is committed, the act will come back to the wrongdoer. For example, it is understood that, whatever a person does to a plant, animal, human, or spirit, the same action will be bestowed on that person. In the same way, drawing from Maureen Matthews and Roger Roulette,

The operative Ojibwe idea here is onjinewin. It means, roughly, that what comes around, goes around. It is the condition in which one finds oneself when one has offended some powerful being, human or non-human, and is, or should be, anticipating the consequences. Several terms deal specifically with the

repercussions of *onjinewin* (2003, 278).

Within *onjinewin* there are different terms of the teachings.²⁰ Traditionally, not only was a person to behave in order to protect themselves, the person was also to behave in a proper way to *protect the community* (with emphasis). The well-being of the community was based not only on individual behaviour but also on collective behaviour as well. Anishinaabeg were taught to be responsible for their actions, to be careful and cautious, treading the grounds of Omizakamigokwe (Mother Earth or all over the earth woman) and to seek her teachings.

Maada' oonidiwin, or sharing, was another important principle to practice. Historical and ethnohistorical evidence indicates the ways of sharing among the Anishinaabe. J.W. Chafe, among other scholars confirms the sharing quality of Anishinaabe in the historic record, "The missionaries noted many admirable qualities in the Indian.... [I]n the 1820's, another wrote that the Indians were 'always ready to alleviate misery'; that the Saulteaux 'kept the Swiss settlers from starving – even though they knew these new arrivals detested them'" (1973, 26). Other scholars recognize this common characteristic and practice among the Anishinaabe (Bray 1970, 251; Morgan 1965, 54; Hallowell 1976, 385, 428). Lee Maracle shares her understanding by generalizing to all First Nations:

The laws that governed First Nations were recognized and embraced as the basis for mature decision making. They were rooted in the social praxis of each nation, which carefully structured the lives of its children, the expectations of those children to embark upon a journey that would result in adult being. The culture required that each child become a deep-thinking child with a consciousness that was fair, sharing, just and caring (2006, 40-41).

Leadership teachings embedded in these teachings all pointed to the individual leader's responsibility for their own actions. These teaching grounded an individual and dictated how that

individual would make decisions in life. The teachings instilled an understanding in an individual about repercussions, responsibility, reciprocity, and the development of relationships with all beings.

With a premise of doing respectful research activities, my intention has been to acknowledge and honour my ancestors. Before and during the data collection stage of research I offered tobacco and prayed to the Gookoomisaananig in each of the four directions for guidance to do my research in a good way. I smudged myself often with sweetgrass, sage, and cedar to cleanse my thoughts and clear my mind. These are culturally relevant steps to take for use in my research gathering stage in order to stay positive and align my mind, body, and spirit, thus gaining balance. As I drew upon my own experience and social reality, the Anishinaabe way of knowing, I was mindful of the ceremonies I practiced since my research journey began. These ceremonies included attending the Jiisikaan, Madoodooswaan (sweatlodge), powwow, and smudging as “the knowledges.” Margaret Kovach discusses “the knowledges” that informed her dissertation and I acknowledge this in her work (2006). Not only does Kovach recognize these cultural knowledges, she also discusses “how sacred knowledges fit into an Indigenous approach to research methodologies” (2006, 5). Kovach’s work inspired my understanding that engagement with the spirit world was an acceptable facet of my methodology and theoretical framework. The following conceptual framework of the Jiisikaan structure adopted from Kovach’s (2006) teepee structure will frame my research.

Methods and Methodology

I used a triangulation of methods braiding together the Jiisikaan, ethnohistorical and historical methods to reconstruct the Anishinaabe Ogichidaakweg roles and responsibilities. The historical and ethnohistorical methods were used in my research to reconstruct the after contact knowledge while the Jiisikaan method and other ethnohistoric data helped reconstruct the Ogichidaakweg roles and responsibilities before contact and after contact. The use of triangulation of methods and methodologies for this research resulted in numerous themes that were identified. More importantly, a relationship was created with the understanding of both the Western and Anishinaabe values and standards of research were upheld.

Triangulation of methods is perhaps most common method of establishing reliability, and is based on the assumption that, if you get similar outcomes by using different methodological approaches, then both the data and research outcomes are dependable” (Kirby et al. 2006, 242).

According to Nahid Golafshani, “Triangulation is typically a strategy (test) for improving the validity and reliability of research or evaluation of findings” (2003, 603). Ensuring reliability involves the question of reconstructing the same research result another time and generalizability is the question of my results being applied to other settings or problems (Kirby et al. 2006, 242). It is possible for my research to be reconstructed in other settings where there is earth for the Jiisikaan poles to be planted in the ground. The area where the jiisikaan is set up must be clean and free of pollution. The use of the Jiisikaan is not for all researchers, it is for those researchers who are committed to learning or have already learned the method and methodology that surrounds its use. The Jiisikaan is for resolving problems and receiving knowledge and direction, therefore both generalizability and reliability can be acquired.

Sandra Kirby, Lorraine Gries, and Colleen Reid (2006) argue that emergent patterns will be identified and confirmed using intra-method analyses, and then across methods to ensure a strong final analysis with resulting dependable data and research outcomes. Other methods may not have been able to provide the same research outcomes. After I blended these multiple methodologies I established reliability through resulting similar outcomes from each method. After the analyses within each protocol and across protocols, the result is cross-triangulation of methods (Kirby et al. 2006, 238). These three methods were successfully cross-triangulated so it is rational to assume that each method did not manipulate the research findings. At the beginning of my research I ensured the questions I shaped corresponded with each method. I found that the Jiisikaan method and ethnohistoric methods were fitting to use in describing the roles and responsibilities of Ogichidaakweg before contact. I also found that using the ethnohistoric and historical methodology was appropriate to answer the second research question, how were these roles and responsibilities affected by contact? However, I still used the Jiisikaan method for this second question. The reason for using the historical method for the second question was that the historical records are largely created by Europeans. The research questions correspond with the each method, and match the data and analysis as suggested by Morse et al. (2002, 12).

Interestingly, research findings outlined in this thesis did not diverge and there were numerous conclusions. The task of maintaining a relationship between Anishinaabe and Western methods and not to compare them was tricky at times since, “Parallels exist for establishment of validity and reliability in qualitative ... data, though the routes to establish them are somewhat different” (Kirby et al. 2006, 242). In addition to this there may be other points of information that may be further investigated that I never uncovered for the sake of brevity of a master’s thesis. For this reason I found a suitable choice in triangulating methods and cross-triangulating

methods in an attempt to articulate the queries that occurred in my research process and analysis. For cross-triangulation of methods to be successful, strengths emerge in data analyses, however, weaknesses in the data within each specific method emerge as well that required analyses. These weaknesses are identified as the limitations of each method and will be outlined at the end of each methodology.

Jiisikaan Izhichigewin (Shake Tent Method and Methodology)

As an Anishinaabekwe researcher and academic and follower of the Jiisikaan, the first step of my research journey toward debwewin (the truth)²¹ was to attend Jiisikaan. I did this because I was taught to listen to my inward knowing (Kovach 2009, 34) or inner knowing, including dreams and intuition (Absolon 2011, 87). On November 26, 2009, I attended a Jiisikaan ceremony to receive spiritual approval on the topic of Ogichidaakwe and to acknowledge the Anishinaabe-ayaawin (way of life), which dictates certain protocols. Using the Jiisikaan as a beginning point has not been suggested yet in any Western example of research, but there are similar indigenous examples in which other ceremonies were practiced at some point in their research (Hart 2002; Sinclair 2003; Wilson 2008). I felt comfortable using the Jiisikaan as a beginning point to my research. Podruchny and Peers write that scholars are beginning to acknowledge and recognize non-institutional settings as valid ways of contributing to knowledge production (2010, 12). Non-institutional settings can include the spiritual setting of a Jiisikaan. My understanding and experiential learning of the Jiisikaan aligns with what the late Anishinaabe Elder Alex Skead describes and teaches *In the Words of Elders: Aboriginal Cultures in Transition*,

In the Shaking Tent the Spirits come in there to tell you what to do. They investigate. For example, if a person drowned or if someone is lost in the bush,

the Shaking Tent will tell you where this person is. Spirits can see everything, they travel so fast, at the blink of an eye, they are there. Only certain people can run a Shaking Tent, it is a gift. (Kulchyski et al, 1999, 190).

I used a multi-faceted methodology, which includes Manidooke-gikendaasowin (sacred knowledge or spirit knowledge acquired at ceremony) from the Jiisikaan inquiry as a primary research method as well as research into secondary sources such as archival data. It is important to detail the Jiisikaan method, as it is less familiar to most readers. Since my social reality includes using the Jiisikaan izhichigewin (shake tent methodology) and other izhichigewinan (methodologies). I am privileged not only to have access to this method, but also to have access to support from expert ceremonial advisors. It became a collaborative effort by many expert advisors and Anishinaabe knowledge holders to request a Jiisikaan ceremony. In Linda Smith's article, *On Tricky Ground: Researching the Native in the Age of Uncertainty* she clarifies,

There are, however, still many native and indigenous families and communities who possess the ancient memories of another way of knowing that informs many of their contemporary practices (2005, 87).

Kirby et al. (2006) stress there is an exclusion of Aboriginal people from official production of knowledge. They acknowledge that Aboriginal groups have different issues, customs, and approaches to investigation and knowledge building. Further, Kirby et al. argue for the inclusion of Aboriginal people and previously disadvantaged groups, and encourages us, "to actively move research beyond the mainstream," when considering research processes (2006, 22). A goal of the research was to acknowledge my Anishinaabe ayaawin (way of life) and use that energy in developing the relationship between the triangulation of methods used in my research—Jiisikaan, historical, and ethnohistorical. In addition to these methods I used Elder's interviews as support for my findings from other research to confirm Anishinaabe knowledge from an Anishinaabe perspective.

Numerous scholars describe the framework of the Jiisikaan and the ceremony through their informant's vivid descriptions, going as far back as the Jesuit Relations (Coues 1965, 199-201; Ermine 1995, 108-109; Peers and Schneck 2002, 17; Densmore 1929, 45-46; Youle Hind 1859, 257; Thwaites MDCCXCVIII, 17-21; Hallowell 1976, 459; Hallowell, 1992, 68; Brown and Brightman 1988, 146-147). Carol Devens found Paul Le Jeune, a missionary, described the shaking tent performed by a Montagnais woman at three Rivers in 1632—1633, and how she succeeded in making the tent shake (1992, 12). Inez Hilger (1951) found the tent name was *cisagi'kan* [sic], now more commonly spelled Jiisikaan, tipi shaking (75). There are variations in the number of poles used in the structure which can vary from four to sixty (Hallowell, 1971, 35-51, 81; Hallowell 1992, 68-71; Brown and Brightman 1988, 39, 102, 149).²² These poles can be from different saplings two to three inches thick and will be planted at least 12 inches into the ground. The height of the poles can vary from six to eight feet high and not twenty feet high as noted by one explorer.²³ Each pole is connected to Mother Earth outside or in a dwelling (Hallowell 1971, 36). The canvas will cover the framework but will be left open at the top of the lodge. A notable item included on the structure is a bell attached to the top of one of the poles. The structure is built by the helpers of the Jiisakiid (the one who performs the shake tent ceremony).

The Jiisakiid is considered a gifted expert, a master of conjuring (Hallowell 1971, 7, 49) and a revealer of hidden truths (McLean 1896, 179) who is part of a group of respected people that can run the Jiisikaan ceremony (Kulchyski et al 1999, 190). The word conjurer is used by many scholars in earlier literature and was used to identify and describe the ability of the Jiisakiid. The Jiisakiid uses a gift received from the one who gives life and instructions are cultured by receiving continuous messages gaining an expert skill level. This spiritually received

skill is not presented to just anyone; it is an earned gift for certain individuals. As an Anishinaabekwe I have learned the Jiisakiid is an individual gifted to communicate with other-than-human beings. The Jiisakiid is a skilled expert gifted with ability through dreams, visions, or messages from other-than-human beings that guide him or her (Hallowell 1971, 76-77, 79). Irving Hallowell quotes William Jones in *The Role of Conjuring in Saulteaux Society* and writes that nobody had so much influence among the Anishinaabe as one who practiced the Jiisikaan.

Within the framework of native theory any skepticism with respect to the presence of the spirits in the conjuring tent is out of place. On the contrary, a conjuring performance provides perceptual evidence of the reality of spiritual entities.... For the Ojibway proper William Jones asserts that “nobody had so much influence as the one who did the *tcisakiwin*,” [Jiisikaan] and formerly an equivalent statement would have been applicable to the Saulteaux” (1971, 73).

In seeking debwewin and following Anishinaabe protocol,²⁴ I, as the Jiisikaan sponsor,²⁵ requested the Jiisikaan ceremony and approached the Jiisakiid with previously blessed asemma (tobacco). Asemma is highly regarded in the Anishinaabe culture as being one of the four sacred medicines that was gifted from the eastern doorway to the Anishinaabe (Benton-Banai 1988, 24). Acceptance of asemma ensures that the Jiisakiid will use his/her expertise to run the Jiisikaan ceremony for the sponsor and a date is set.

As the sponsor of the Jiisikaan ceremony, I was required to give a gift to the Jiisakiid but, more importantly, I was required to honour and acknowledge the other-than-human beings who would come, by offering them asemma and food that was previously blessed. Gifting is important and the sponsor of the ceremony will give valuables or personal possessions as they see fit. For me, research is my life, and I cannot place a price on gifting.²⁶ According to my

instruction and cultural protocols I have received, I will gain the desired information based on the value of my gifts.

The Jiisakiiwikwe expert entered the structure, situated herself in the kneeling position, and became the vessel between the other-than-human or spirit world and the human world to gain the information I desired for my research. The Jiisakiiwikwe was deeply engaged in discourse through prayer, while her assistant played his hand drum and sang. Spirits or other-than-humans entered the top of the Jiisikaan making the journey to the Jiisikaan on their own accord. The spirits investigated and communicated with the Jiisakiiwikwe expert in the spirit language.²⁷ Accurate Anishinaabe knowledge lies in this form of the Anishinaabe language rather than common and everyday use of Anishinaabemowin. For this reason, gifted individuals can only use this language while in ceremony and it is preserved by the spirits. I made a second visit to confirm sharing the Manidooke-gikendaasowin in the proper way. Further consultation with available Anishinaabemowin dictionaries and other scholarly works were also helpful.

Movements of the structure come from the other-than-human or guardian spirits that are messengers of debwewin. The spirits announce their arrival by swaying and/or shaking of Jiisikaan structure in any direction. The shaking of the Jiisikaan can be gentle to more forceful in nature. The motions of the Jiisikaan are signalled by the bell placed on one of the poles, enabling noises to be heard. The winds from the four directions and the spirits are responsible for the shaking when they enter the uncovered top of the Jiisikaan structure (Coues 1965, 199-201; Hallowell, 1971, 7, 36; Hilger 1951, 75). A major mediator is the mikinaak (turtle) spirit, (Densmore 1929, 45-46; Coleman et al. 1962, 108; Howard 1965, 149; Cleland 1992, 69; Brown and Brightman 1988, 39), however, Hallowell found in addition to the mikinaak other spirits

including, the winds, lynx, memegweci (little people), wolf, thunderbird and porcupine (1971, 45-46) were also mediators.

From my experiential teachings I can share that the mikinaak spirit entered the Jiisikaan to reveal the truth, my spirit helper who is the eagle entered, the four directions entered, and my Waawaateg clan entered the Jiisikaan. In this case, I never asked if any additional spirits came in. In this, I was following Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin. If I was meant to know this information, it would have been revealed. The only indication of the spirits in the Jiisikaan was from the Gimishomisinaanig, asking if I liked the answers to my questions at one point at the ceremony. The Jiisakiid expert will communicate and converse with the spirit messengers that enter the lodge. If the sponsor is gifted and meant to hear the spirits, he or she will and, if not, then that level of engagement must be respected. There is no society of Jiisakiid practioners. Only the gifted can receive the abilities and teachings from the one who gives life. A cultural teaching received from the grandson of the Jiisakiikwikwe was that there are different levels of expertise of the Jiisikaan. A Jiisakiid practices this ability on his own and within his agency (Hallowell, 1971, 69).

Sponsors approach a Jiisakiid for desired knowledge for reasons ranging from lost or missing persons; lost articles (Kulchyski et al. 1999, 190; Densmore 1949, 45-46; Howard 1965, 149; Hallowell, 1971, 68; Rogers 1962, D31; Brown and Brightman 1988, 8, 83); ensuring and determining health, as well as health and welfare of distant persons (Hilger 1951, 76-77; Peers and Schneck, 2002, 41; Hallowell 1971, 7, 53, 65-67); ensuring success and determining success as well as success or misfortune of hunters and warriors; movements of the enemy; foretelling of events to locate game to alleviate famine, hunger, or starvation; the cause, diagnosis, or curing and nature of a sickness (Coues 1965, 201; Hallowell 1971, 53; Coleman et al. 1962, 108; Brown

and Brightman 1988, 60-62), disease (Landes 1968, 47-48), or a wiindigoo (other-than-human cannibalistic being) (Hallowell 1971, 64; Johnson 1995, 247), or to answer any other questions pertaining to a sponsor's desire (Cleland 1992, 69). In the same way, Waldram, Herring, and Young (2007) found the Jiisikaan traditional ceremony had a combination of purposes that could fulfill many research activities including predicting, diagnosing, and locating information (Waldram et al. 2007, 138-139; Hallowell, 1971, 53-72). For the purpose of this research study, my sponsorship and request to the Jiisakiid expert was based on the operationalization of concepts and prepared questions to locate information.

For the purposes of my research and, in accordance with Jiisikaan practice, data gathering through the Jiisikaan ceremony was a one-time scheduled event with no expectation of a time limit. Like Western methods, the protocol and norm for Anishinaabe ways of knowing like the Jiisikaan require the message or acquired information to be interpreted by its receiver. In fact, to verify the questions that I asked at the Jiisikaan another Jiisikaan sponsor may ask for permission and attend a Jiisikaan of their choice to ask if my answers and interpretations were accurate. According to Lewis Cardinal, "A whole base of research tools and methods for indigenous people have yet to be realized and incorporated into the hunt for truth, the hunt for knowledge" (2001, 180). There are procedures that are required to be followed in order to be respectful of Anishinaabe principles and preserve Anishinaabe values. Further to this, in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, Smith explains that in indigenous research, the important task is to embrace and support new approaches to research and innovative examinations of indigenous knowledge (2005, 92).

From the beginning of the research process, during the data-analysis stage and to the end of this research I used the biiskabiyaang (we are returning to customs and traditions) teaching.

According to Wendy Genuisz (2009), this means the research will go back to the principles of Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin to reclaim Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin. Genuisz uses this approach as a methodology in her work (Genuisz 2009, 9). By immersing myself within the Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin, I went further than using this teaching as Anishinaabe-izhichigewin—it became my intellectual filter and way of thought. This process then led to my interpretations of both Western-derived and Anishinaabe-derived data.

Limitations

By identifying the Jiisikaan limitations then reflecting on the limitation, and then finally suggesting how to overcome the limitations demonstrates my methodological coherence. The Jiisikaan and its limitations had just as much of an impact as the historical and ethnohistorical limitations had on my research findings. The Jiisikaan method is an opportunity to introduce a new method to contribute to knowledge production. The Jiisikaan method research findings in this thesis cannot be generalized to the larger population since it is an introduction of new knowledge. The only group that would understand generalization would be the Jiisakiid and supporters and followers who are a select group of people. My choice to use a method with different methodological implications made my research unique. The Jiisikaan and its methodological limitations did not negatively impact the quality of my thesis and research findings. Instead the Jiisikaan research limitations are revealing and instructive. Making space for the Jiisikaan method contributes to the field of indigenous knowledge and also helps overcome the absence of alternative ways to do research for some indigenous scholars. Not only will the relationship between academics and access to non-institutional settings be strengthened,

but the ethical space gap will also narrow and the two worldviews can further build a relationship.²⁸

Introducing a new approach may or may not provoke several debatable questions. This knowledge can be questioned by other inexperienced or experienced and uninformed or informed perspectives from diverse people since all these insights can be valuable. Questioning often allows room for growth and development of new theoretical underpinnings in all research. However a limitation can be that strict protocols need to be followed and respected when using the Jiisikaan. To learn these protocols requires many teachings and takes periods of time that is not pre-established. For example, protocol requires that the answers you receive at the Jiisikaan are for you to interpret, figure out. In following protocol I do not question the answer. I fully reflected first on the answer. After I establish my own interpretation of the experience I carefully make my own theoretical assumptions. This can be a short period of time or a lifetime depending on the individual.

As I reflected on the Jiisikaan limitations my goal is to provide as much analytical depth as possible to help my audience understand this method as well as customs. In my three decades of the Jiisikaan experiential learning I have grown up watching and not questioning what I have seen and heard. Observing the Jiizikaan izhichigewin and its methodology for many years and being part of a spiritual environment is part of my Anishinaabe aayawin (way of being), and my existence. I have acquired an understanding of the Jiisikaan and this can be an advantage since my experience is rigid, full of protocols but my experience can also be a disadvantage. Strict protocols involve knowing your role when attending a Jiisikaan spiritual ceremony. The disadvantage can involve approaching and implementing the Jiisikaan method with preconceived notions and explanations. My role as a researcher includes part of my responsibility to adapt my

knowledge but also query my method choices. This was difficult for me to take on as an Anishinaabekwe, especially since the izhitwaawin surrounding Jiisikaan include the belief that the answers received from Jiisikaan is debwewin and there is no requirement to question the truth in the Anishinaabe way of knowing. To avoid lack of responsiveness and “overly adhering to instructions [or protocols] rather than listening to data, the inability to ... move beyond ... previously held assumptions” (Morse et al. 2002, 11) I had to move in and out of Anishinaabe and Western ways of thinking. I did this to avoid bias due to the privilege of intimately knowing the Jiisikaan method and methodology.

The protection of guarded knowledge can be viewed as a limitation of using the Jiisikaan method and methodology. Genuisz defines guarded knowledge as knowledge that is to be kept sacred and available for consumption only by those who earn or are gifted to receive the knowledge (2009, 64-67). Anishinaabe protected and guarded gikendaasowin was respected in the research process as well as in this thesis. Nonetheless, my understanding of the Anishinaabe unguarded gikendaasowin can be shared and does not just belong to the Anishinaabe; it belongs to the one who gives life. The purpose of teaching and sharing Anishinaabe Inaakonigewin, which is unguarded gikendaasowin, is for the greater good of the humankind. The purpose of attending the initial Jiisikaan ceremony was to gain approval from the highest authority among the Anishinaabeg, and that authority comes from the Gimishomisinaanig and Gookoomisinaanig. I would like to stress that all Manidooke-gikendaasowin shared in this thesis has been given spiritual approval as well. Permission was obtained through the naming of this document at the Jiisikaan ceremony.

A further limitation which arose was my language barrier. My nascent understanding of the language became a barrier which could have prevented accurate collection of data. It is my

understanding that attempting to use the language in a good way is a powerful method of research. To solve my dilemma, I approached two expert interpreters of the Anishinaabe language with gifts of tobacco, and they gave me their assistance with the Jiisikaan method.

For the Anishinaabeg, language use is just as crucial as practicing Anishinaabe ceremony, particularly when there is a discussion of identity. Since the Government of Canada already once implemented colonial law and banned ceremonies in the Indian Act 1895 and in the Enfranchisement Act 1869, Anishinaabeg were subject to how they identified themselves according to European standards. Neal McLeod argues the Indian Act, 1895 (s. 114) caused “Alienation from our stories and languages,” because it was this section of the Indian Act that outlawed spiritual ceremony (2007, 55). The inability to pass knowledge from one generation to the next generation was extensively harmed as well as other Anishinaabe based discourses and language. To overcome this limitation my responsibility as an Anishinaabekwe requires sharing knowledge of the Jiisikaan method. This is respectful and is part of my responsibility and role as an Anishinaabekwe. My understanding is that if I did not get permission to share my knowledge I would be doing the Anishinaabeg harm instead of Europeans doing the harm. This would resemble history paradoxically repeating itself. In addition to this I would be surrendering to colonization and its massive wiindigoo efforts that have a pattern of harming, silencing and keeping secrets that result from hundreds of years of colonial carnage.

Another limitation would be the researcher’s lack or inability to attain a *genuine* Jiisikaan expert. There have been many historical recordings that indicate a Jiisakiid is not genuine and are not successful in conducting the Jiisikaan spiritual experience. This does not mean the Jiisikaan is not a valid or reliable way of knowing or doing. In my experience of attending the Jiisikaan and as a Jiisikaan follower, the Jiisakiid, Jiisikaan sponsors and other Jiisikaan participants are

part of a social world and may know each other. In all my Jiisikaan experiences I have not shared who I see at these spiritual experiences out of respect and privacy. This demonstrates the intimacy of this group's relational understanding. In addition to this, a researcher may be rejected by the Jiisakiid. This group of people may or may not assist other scholars and inform them of the sacred understanding of this spiritual knowledge and methodology. In my case my research and explanation of reasons for my desired knowledge was embraced. I can suggest for other scholars to commit and begin their research with good intentions and have a thorough explanation for your request for desired knowledge. The relationship with the Jiisakiid must be developed over time. Being successful in the development of a relationship with the Jiisakiid can lead to the gap in knowledge of the Jiisikaan method to be overcome, and new knowledge can be contributed to the field of indigenous studies.

Another limitation is the Jiisakiid being able to concentrate and absorb the questions being asked in the proper context but also to give answers in the proper context. We have to remember the Jiisakiid is human and the impact on attention, endurance, and concentration levels may possibly decrease as people are helped throughout the Jiisikaan experience. There are other spiritual forces at play that assist the Jiisakiid to not be affected by exhaustion. For example, Wau-chus-co who passed on at Mackinac in 1840 and converted to Christianity ten years before his death gave details that,

I possess a power which I cannot explain or describe to you. I never attempted to move the lodge. I held communication with supernatural beings, or thinking minds, or spirits which acted upon my mind, or soul, and revealed to me such knowledge as I have described to you... (Hallowell, 1971, 74).

Reflecting on my experience at the Jiisikaan I was placed last. As the sponsor of the Jiisikaan I did make the request to the Jiisakiid helper, to be the only participant. I knew this request was

unlikely to happen. I asked knowing that it is almost impossible to have such a Jiisikaan experience based on such a request. In all my experiences of participating at a Jiisikaan Anishinaabeg arrive in crowds since news of the Jiisikaan spreads like wild fire in the community. I would not say no to other people who desire knowledge from the Jiisikaan.

A final limitation is to answer to sceptics who question the practice of the Jiisikaan. For example, sceptics may question the use of the Jiisikaan method for the reason that they do not consider the Jiisikaan as a credible and valued method to gain knowledge. However, I consider knowledge can be gained from the Jiisikaan method since this practice of research is part of my life teachings, my being and my existence. The Jiisikaan as a source of information and issues of validity and reliability may possibly arise. Morse et al. argue that the concepts of reliability and validity can indeed be used in all scientific paradigms and they support this argument with Kvale (1989) who asserts, “to validate is to investigate, to check, to question, and to theorize” (2002, 14). A suggestion to overcome this limitation involves requesting another knowledgeable researcher, or the researcher’s advisor, or an Elder who uses the Jiisikaan method to verify the questions and answers at a following Jiisikaan. For example, the answers I received at the Jiisikaan I attended could be inquired about by another Jiisikaan sponsor to the Jiisakiid. Permission may or may not be granted to ask if my questions, answers and interpretations and research findings were accurate. I have been instructed through Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin, to not ask the same question twice if you have already heard someone share the answer. There are repercussions that involve onjineewin when Anishinaabe-izhtwaawin is not followed. Using the Jiisikaan method can result in a positive impact in research if used by Anishinaabeg and other interested researchers, if they are trained and have experience in the acceptable protocols that the Jiisikaan methodology requires.

Hallowell among a plethora of scholars and missionaries who have gathered multitudes of data on the Jisikaan replete with first hand observation, consistent proposals and outcomes that validate, and in most cases have established results (Brown and Brightman 1988; Thwaites 1898; Hilger 1951; Mason 1997; Densmore 1929; Peers and Schneck 2002; Youle Hind 1859; Smith 1895; Coues 1965; Bray 1970; Landes 1968; Howard 1965; Coleman et al. 1962; Kulchyski et al 1999; Devens 1992; Waldram et al 2007; Skinner 1914). Hallowell reminds us in a monograph,

When, as outsiders, we raise questions about insincerity and fraud, therefore, it simply indicates that we find it impossible to penetrate and understand the behavioral world in which these Indians lived.

In rejecting, as we are inclined to do, all the priori assumptions upon which their belief system is based and in terms of which their behavioral world is organized, we are actually indicating the foundations of their culture, which is irrelevant to the problem of how conjuring functions within that culture. Within the cultural system of the Saulteaux, for example, *conjuring as an institution* serves a variety of functions and is an integral part of Saulteaux society as a going concern. From the standpoint of these Indians themselves, therefore, it is not conjuring as an institution that can be challenged for it embodies too many beliefs and values that are basic to the operation of the social order as a whole. All that is possible is to differentiate between *genuine* conjurers and those who lack the necessary supernatural validation for their task (1942, 76).

I found this monograph was noteworthy since Hallowell explains how the Anishinaabeg belief system and behavioral world is comprehensively organized. I agree with his critique and explanation and this is how I would explain my understanding of one part of the Anishinaabeg social world.

Ethnohistory and Oral History

Symbolically, the four round rings connected to the inside foundational poles of the Jiisikaan represent the Western ethnohistorical method shaping my research framework and bringing together two methods and two relationships.²⁹ Not only is the ethnohistorical method embraced by the Anishinaabe method, it also acts as a support of the Anishinaabe method, a symbolic reciprocal relationship signifying respect. In my research, both worldviews are acknowledged and given relational accountability (Wilson 2008, 77), because indigenous people's primary insight is that all existence is connected (Ermine 1995, 103). The ethnohistorical method is necessary, because documents depicting Anishinaabe life primarily come from a European perspective.

In the early 1940s, United States Indian Claims Research propelled a change in terminology within ethnology, replacing the older term of "culture history" with "ethnohistory," a sub-branch of ethnology that specifically studies "so called pre-literate peoples" through documentary data sources (Wiedman 1986, ix). Darrell Whiteman argues that ethnohistory is the ethnohistoric construction of Native groups (1986, 26). Ethnohistory, according to Jennifer Brown,

[is] a mixture of ethnology and history, or as doing the history of a particular ethnic group.... At its best (and the proof is in the doing), the approach possesses a powerful alchemy, enriching and transforming understanding through the combining of data and insights from diverse fields, while always alert to comparative perspectives (Brown and Vibert, 2003, xxvi).

Similarly, some scholars state that the utilization of historical data to conduct anthropological research is ethnohistory, and many point out that ethnohistory takes into consideration the impact of the dominant society on Native people, and the circumstances that have had an effect on their lives (Mignon and Boxberger 1990, xi). Ethnohistory utilizes various research techniques to

measure the degree to which the culture has changed, using distinctive facts in determining these changes (Hickerson 1970, 6). Other scholars conclude that the most advanced work on Aboriginal history in Canada represented in recent collections has grown out of trends in ethnohistory and cultural history (Podruchny and Peers 2010, 3).

For the ethnohistorical aspect of my research, I examined primary sources located in archival repositories (Dixon and Alexander 2010, 3). Data collection took place at the Manitoba Archives using the Hudson Bay Company Archives and the Department of Indian Affairs Archives. In an effort to reconstruct the leadership roles of the Ogichidaakweg, I consulted missionary records, fur trade documents and journals, captivity narratives, government documents, ethnohistoric data sources, Anishinaabe Elders' knowledges extracted from studies, and community-based history projects.

Historical and archival material is biased for the reason that it is generally one-sided from a European perspective, so it was a challenge to find facts and teachings within these primary sources. Anishinaabe teachings are learned from childhood as lived experience, and these documents were written with European lived experiences and reflected European perspectives. This is where the limitations of ethnohistoric research were especially challenging. The primary objectives of those who created these records recorded events that related to business and missionary work. There was no specialized training during the time when these accounts were created, and most writers did not focus on social change. The handwriting was also difficult to read at times. Primary data for this period were drawn from Missionary records and trade journals including Nor'Wester Alexander Henry the Younger's Journals (1799-1814) and George Nelson's Journals (1802-1804), Frances Heron's Journals (1827-1828), Henry Youle Hind's Journals (1859), James Sutherland's Journals (1794-1795) and Peter Fidler's Journals

(1791). Other materials that were consulted include the Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents (1637) edited by Rueben Thwaites, Joseph Nicolett (1836-1837), Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (1822-1849), and Lewis Morgan (1965). Supplemental materials include the Church Records, The Canadian Journal, House of Commons, Sessional Papers, the *Canadian Druggist*, and Department of Indian Affairs public documents; and lastly historical Anishinaabe community history publications.

Complementary studies were examined to explore the practices of neighbouring societies concerning women in military roles. Wiedman discusses how the use of public documents and ethnohistorical sources were successful in detailing leadership patterns in Patrick Garrow's (1986) study on the Mattamuskeet people (Wiedman 1986, xiii). Narratives that were used include those of William Warren (1984), Edwin James and John Tanner (1830), Ignatia Broker (1983) and George Copway (1847). These primary data sources were helpful to this research, shedding light on why certain cultural changes occurred (Whiteman 1986, 27).

A researcher quickly realizes that uncovering any documents before the twentieth century that focus on Anishinaabe women's roles in general and leadership in particular is a difficult task, because there is a paucity of records. In archival collections of materials from before the twentieth century, documents self-generated by the Anishinaabeg are infrequent in Western written form (Miller 2010, 12). Brown says that "ethnohistory has been a generative force leading anthropologists, colonial historians, and others to treat seriously the histories of peoples who lacked the privileged written sources of the intruders" (Brown and Vibert 2003, xxvii). I read primary sources with caution, recognizing the bias in them (Perdue 2001, 4; Van Kirk 1999, 10). According to Brown, part of the solution is to use historical context carefully and place the texts within that context (2003, xxiv). The goal for my research was to draw out social

interactions with a focus on the complexity of women's leadership roles among the Anishinaabeg to create a new, valuable understanding of how changes took place in the past.

In terms of secondary sources, past scholars have contributed to reconstructing Anishinaabe lives by using ethnohistory with European perspectives on the roles and responsibilities of Anishinaabe women, but they have never covered in detail the area of Ogichidaakwe leadership. I used an Anishinaabekwe lens when using ethnohistory to reconstruct Ogichidaakweg lives.

Data analysis took place using a variety of tools and resources that have had previous ethnohistoric research success. After gathering the data, a required phase of coding and categorizing information until themes emerged took place. According to various scholars, sifting through (Carter 2007, 7; Podruchny and Peers 2010, 16; Dixon and Alexander 2010, 3; Perdue 2001, 4, 12) or piecing together (Brant-Castellano 1989, 45-48; Genuisz 2009, 51; Podruchny and Peers 2010, 3; Van Kirk 1999, 16) snippets or fragments of information (Flannery 1995, xi; Carter 1999, 16; Van Kirk 1999, 16) to reconstruct women's historical experience is a complex task. As mentioned earlier, this complexity is due to the underrepresentation or exclusion of Aboriginal people and women in available written sources (Dixon and Alexander 2010, 3, 17; Kirby et al. 2006, 22). The time-consuming nature of sifting through journal posts and collecting enough usable data to complete a well-organized analysis of the Ogichidaakweg roles and responsibilities was complex. My research questions led me to sift through layers of women's experiences and blend these experiences to preserve and refine information and reconstruct identities, values, leadership roles, and practices (Perdue 2001, 4, 12).

I felt angry, sad, hurt, and confused by the writers who expressed their learned attitudes toward the Anishinaabe and other indigenous nations in their writing. Then, as the researcher, I

realized through my strong cultural values I could change how I felt. If I chose to concentrate on the inappropriate and stereotyped nature of some journal recorders' documentation, it would only cause and perpetuate an unbalanced study. In this research my aim was to search for the lessons of colonization not to be further subjected to the exposure of colonization. Additionally, when an Anishinaabekwe lens is used, there can be bias developed on the part of the researcher. These biases are created when researchers—either Native or non-Native—apply their lenses and worldviews. Keeping in mind that my intentions must be good, it took a great amount of effort to keep the research balanced. I accepted the context of the archival material by acknowledging the personal, cultural, and historical biases of the writers.

Reliability of sources used in my research can be seen as a limitation, specifically the non-Anishinaabe scholars that are used and have contributed Anishinaabe knowledge. The contribution made to academia about Anishinaabe by non-Anishinaabe is still knowledge. This knowledge, although it may or may not be accurate, gives Anishinaabe something to build upon and correct using their intimate knowledge of themselves. I used corrective scholarship to counteract the misrepresentation in the previous scholarship and popular culture surrounding Anishinaabe oral history (LaRocque 2010, 31). Too often, Anishinaabe oral stories become misused, abused, and distorted because scholars do not understand Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin or Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin in an intimate way. I suggest using Elder's knowledge in the absence of interviews and build on the ethnohistory method as a methodological approach. This approach is convincingly able to illustrate the power of ethnohistoric research when the inclusion of Elder's knowledge is included. In many instances in my research Elder's knowledge supports my findings.

My methodology became especially important in this research for the reason that it represents an introduction of new knowledge to the academic space. It is important to state that this “new” knowledge is, in fact, ancient knowledge for the Anishinaabe. I applied the ancient Anishinaabe-izhichigewin research by attending Jiisikaan to locate answers to my Anishinaabe Ogichidaakweg research questions. The Jiisikaan izhichigewin (shake tent methodology) assisted in acquiring Ogichidaakweg manidoke gikendaasowin (women warrior sacred knowledge or spirit knowledge acquired at ceremony) in the search for debwewin on Ogichidaakwe before contact and after contact. Basil Johnston translates debwewin as, “He (or she) tells the truth, is right, accurate. In its most fundamental sense, however, it means ‘he (or she) explains or describes perceptions according to his (or her) command of language.’ In other words, there is no absolute truth, only the highest degree of accuracy of which a person is capable” (Johnston, 1995, 241). Not only was debwewin unearthed in my research, truth was unearthed in my life. Not only does this thesis have academic value, but it also holds a spiritual value; it has life. Brandt-Castellano (2004) writes,

Aboriginal communities, political organizations and scholars are insisting that the integrity and validity of research cannot be assured by western methodologies alone. They must be tempered by methodologies that are compatible with Aboriginal methods of investigation and validation (106).

I agree with Brant-Castellano and chose to use the Anishinaabe method, the Anishinaabe Jiisikaan, to investigate women’s roles and responsibilities before contact. The Western methodology, ethnohistory was selected since it complimented this Anishinaabe method of investigation and validation, which I present in the next chapter (Brandt-Castellano 106).

Chapter Three - Ogichidakweg Reconstruction

A discussion of women-based aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag is needed to gain a better understanding of women's leadership gikendaasowin. Both are Anishinaabe-based hermeneutics. Aadizookaanan are narratives and ancient oral stories while, aadizookaanag are sacred narratives that have an Anishinaabe sacred being or spirit in the narrative. It is important to remember that we are calling upon the spirits in those sacred narratives. In the Anishinaabe way of knowing when we call upon or acknowledge spirits we have to follow protocols of calling on these spirits. Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin gikendaasowin (governance knowledge) interconnects with aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag (Hallowell 1976, 365; Mathews and Roulette 2003, 268). In the Anishinaabe way there are izhitwaawin to be followed concerning seasonally restricted aadizookaanag. However, the primary teachings of the following aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag are not seasonally restricted (Hallowell 1976, 365; Mathews and Roulette 2003, 268).³⁰ Nonetheless, in my Anishinaabe way of knowing the Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin gikendaasowin interconnects with aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag.

In the Anishinaabe way, ceremony is a practice in which people gain and transfer valuable knowledge. Brant-Castellano writes that "traditional teachings are conveyed through example, through stories and songs, through engagement with the natural world which are governed by laws of life just as human beings are" (2004, 100). I have looked at certain Anishinaabe teachings through which important information related to women's leadership roles is conveyed. Anishinaabe traditional teachings and laws of life are conveyed through the women-based aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag of Nookomis (Grandmother Moon), Omizakamigokwe, Nookomis Nodin (Grandmother Wind), Nookomis Ghiizhiik, and Gizhigookwe.

Aadizookaanan and Aadizookaanag

Omizakamigokwe - Creation

Sister Bernard Coleman, Ellen Frogner and Estelle Eich (1962) found that the Anishinaabeg spoke of one who was older than Nookomis, her name is Me-suk-kem-wik-o-kwe [sic], the earth (91). Anishinaabe scholar Basil Johnston writes about the one “who is older,” Omizakamigokwe “was the most immediate and cherished and honored” (Johnston 1976, 23). Further, Johnston teaches that the Anishinaabeg equated the name “Muzzu-kummik-Quae [sic],” — which can be translated in English as “Earth Mother” — with motherhood or womanhood (1995, 243). Some Elders in *In the Words of Elders* (1999) share that they were taught from their Elders to hold Omizakamigokwe as sacred; she is a gift from the “one who gives life.” The people are to understand that they are in a relationship with the land and should accommodate Omizakamigokwe and not themselves (Kulchyski et al., xvi). Cleland verifies,

The land and Anishinabeg were one complete thing, neither to be understood apart. This relationship was one of kindred expressed by them as the relationship between dependent children and the provider, *Nookomis*, grandmother earth (1992, 44).

When I asked about the teachings of women-based aadizookaanag at the Jiisikaan ceremony Omizakamigokwe was given separate attention from the other aadizookaanag. Through knowledge that is lodged within me from my experience at the Jiisikaan, I can interpret an acquired teaching from Manidooke-gikendaasowin that Omizakamigokwe means a way of life, Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin.³¹ This teaching must include not only Omizakamigokwe looking after the water, but also the Anishinaabe man, who looks after the fire and wood, the Firekeeper (Benton Banai 1988, 16-17). Treuer writes,

Women were considered to have a deep, sacred connection with water. Men had a special relationship with fire. These relationships structured many ceremonial functions, where men

guarded and kept watch over the sacred fire and women always blessed the water (2011, 7).

This concept of balance is embedded in the teachings of this aadizookaanag. Maintaining this balance is always the primary goal; accordingly, Anishinaabe men respect the women and women respect the men, because these teachings are important in sustaining life and in governance.

Nookomis³²

Benton Banai writes that “[t]he earth was arranged in the Universe so ...The Sun would keep watch during the day. The Moon would keep watch at night” (1988, 16, 37). The significance of the relationship between man and woman is symbolic of the sun and moon, a reciprocal and balanced relationship. Anishinaabe scholars confirm this teaching (Johnston 1976, 26; Benton-Banai 1988, 18, 36-37). When Anishinaabeg govern a nation, women are acknowledged and are needed just as much as the men. Nookomis is connected to the woman and is representative of women’s leadership in this Ogichidaakwe way. The relationship between Omizakamigokwe and Nookomis is understood in relation to the cycles of creation. They are one and the same, which will be explained further in the discussion of the Gizhigookwe aadizookaanag. Nookomis is the word to identify the moon, and it is also the word to identify an Anishinaabe grandmother.

Nookomis Giizhik

Through the aadizookaan of Nookomis Giizhik, Anishinaabe teachers further communicate this understanding of balance to the next generation. Genuisz writes,

As the aadizookaan “The Creation of Nookomis Ghiizhik” explains, ghiizhikaatig [northern white cedar] connects the worlds and opens our communication with the manidoog. According to the dibaajimowin [teaching, ordinary story, personal story, history story] of Keewaydinoquay, the growth pattern of ghiizhikaatig shows this connection because this tree exists in the same form both above the ground and below the ground (2009, 142).

Genuisz writes that the cedar was relied on for use in the important times of life, including ceremony (1990, 144). The relationship between Nookomis Giizhik and Omizakamigokwe reflects the importance of balance, which in turn is demonstrated in the growth of the cedar above and below ground (Genuisz 2009, 142). This teaching is about the importance of acquiring and maintaining balance that will lead to fairness in decision making within Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin. The teachings that branch out from the Nookomis Ghiizhik aadizookaan reflect how Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin was to be implemented, with a balance between men and women being the priority.

Nookomis Nodin

Nookomis Nodin is also known as Grandmother Wind, and the stories of this sacred aadizookaanag include teachings of the four directions; the east, south, west and north. I found in the historical record that Skinner and Hallowell were taught about the Four Winds, who were identified as siblings born of an unnamed mother who was given human characteristics and lived long ago (Skinner 1914, *Notes*, 147-148; Hallowell 1976, 458). This story is confirmed in Peers

and Schneck from historical evidence found in George Nelson's (1802-1804) journals about Nookomis Nodin:

I remember one day having a little baffling wind, sometimes from one quarter & then for another, the men (14 in number) all wishing "a sail," Jos: Labrie begin *his* conjuring: he dropped a penny piece, a bit of tobacco, flint steel, Spunk [punk] &c. &c. into the Lake. Un sacrifice a la vielle (mere des vents) [a sacrifice to the old woman, mother of the winds], for a fair wind (2002, 40-41).

Nelson (1802-1804) was overwhelmed by the outcome and stated that after the acknowledgement was made to the mother of the four winds, the wind died down. Nookomis Nodin, like many other sacred beings in Anishinaabe stories, was impregnated and bore her four children from a spirit-like nonhuman (Hallowell 1976, 376). Nookomis Nodin is alive and tied to the cardinal directions, to the air, and to other natural phenomenon associated with the wind (Benton-Banai 1988 63; Price 2002, 52). Air gives life to all of creation therefore the wind is highly respected by the Anishinaabeg, as shown in the acknowledgment of Nookomis Nodin.

Gizhigookwe—Re-Creation³³

Gizhigookwe is the name for Sky Woman, and this story includes one teaching of the Anishinaabe story of re-creation. Some oral stories indicate that first came creation, followed by destruction, followed by re-creation, when the first people were created (Johnston 1976, 15). The Anishinaabe as well as other nations tell and share the oral story that the woman who fell from the sky was a spirit from the spirit world. There are various stories of Gizhigookwe that the Anishinaabeg had in common with the Haudenosaunee, and Odaawa (Ottawa) from different geographic locations spanning Ontario and Manitoba. The Boodawaadamii (Potawatomi), and Odaawa were neighbors and close allies to the Anishinaabe and may share similar teachings

(Treuer 2011, 36). Sandra Laronde (2005, xvii) a Teme-Augama-Anishnaabe from Temagami, Ontario, and Mary Lou Fox (1979, 1-21), an Anishinaabe from Mi'Cheigeeng, Ontario, and Basil Johnston (1995, 11), born at Wasauksing First Nation, share the same oral story as Linda McDowell. McDowell, an Anishinaabe who from Roseau River Anishinaabe Nation, Manitoba, shares the legend,

In the beginning, there was nothing but water and a woman fell from the sky world. Two loons caught the woman, prevented her from drowning and placed her on the neck of the Great Turtle. The animals and creatures of the sea discussed what was to be done and decided she must have earth to live on. The animals dove to the bottom of the sea and brought up some earth and placed it on the edge of the Great Turtle's shell. There it dried and grew larger and larger until it formed a great country where trees and other plants came to grow (1976, 4).

Anishinaabe scholar Johnston further adds,

Then the spirit woman ascended into the sky to return to her home. Thereafter the Anishinabeg remembered the first of Mothers, Nokomis (Grandmother) whenever the moon gave light. At the same time, they remember the primacy of women, who bore the unique gift of life, for it was through woman that the cycle—creation, destruction, re-creation—was completed (1976, 17).

Surrounding the knowledge of the first woman, Gizhigookwe came the understanding that re-creation and the gift of life comes from a woman. Therefore, the Anishinaabe held the first woman in high regard. The earth and all of re-creation is believed to be derived from this woman.

Another important teaching from this re-creation story was the gikendaasowin that Gizhigookwe and Nookomis are the same; they both are not only the moon but part of Omizakamigokwe as well.³⁴ The aadizookaanan and aadizookanag of Nookomis, Omizakamigokwe, Nookomis Nodin, Nookomis Giizhik or Gizhigookwe are all life-giving and life-sustaining teachings. These teachings show why Anishinaabe believe they are literally from

the land—and why they feel it is important to be respectful and to practice proper conduct on Omizakamigokwe. These teachings remind the Anishinaabeg that women are placed in high esteem and are equal to men in Anishinaabe leadership and governing. Governing teachings among the Anishinaabe were representative of how individuals understood the relationship with their first mother, Omizakamigokwe. The Anishinaabe women sought these teachings from Omizakamigokwe, and the reason women did so was because they were symbolically and literally representative of Omizakamigokwe. Omizakamigokwe had “the constancy of the earth in life giving and in the bounty of her was more assumed than that of human motherhood” (Johnston 1976, 23). In asserting their strong understanding of indigenous law Robinson and Quinney state,

In all Indian Nations the ultimate Leaders are the women for they are strongest and the most like Mother Earth (1985, 10).

Ogimaawiwin (Anishinaabe Governance)

The Ojibwe word for leadership—*ogimaawiwin*—literally means “to be esteemed” or “held to high principle.” It comes from the morpheme *ogi*, meaning “high,” found in other Ojibwe words such as *ogichidaa* (warrior), *ogidakamig* (on top of the earth), and *ogidaaki* (hilltop) (Treuer 2011, 14).

Treuer’s use of Anishinaabe hermeneutics here offers a distinct theoretical understanding of the Anishinaabe language, outlining patterns of thought embedded within it. While attending the Jiisikaan ceremony, I asked about the meaning of the word “ogimaawin.” The teaching I received from the Jiisakiiwikwe had great meaning for me, because the knowledge she shared established that the word *ogimaawin* means government or leadership.³⁵ In addition to this, the *Ogichidaakwe* Drum and other ceremonial drums are highly regarded in *ogimaawiwin*, and the ethnohistorical record indicates that drums helped sustain the Anishinaabe leadership paradigm

that ceremonial drums were appointed to persons for life, and that they were passed on within families (Matthews and Roulette 2003, 265; Treuer 2011, 143).³⁶ In the Anishinaabe understanding, drums live and breathe and must be taken care of. There is only one Ogichidaakwe Drum that belongs to a Dakota woman, hereditarily handed down, in the traditional territory of the Dakota near the border of North Dakota and Minnesota (Matthews and Roulette 2003; Treuer 2011).³⁷ In my conclusion, I further describe the significance of the Ogichidaakwe Drum.

The use of the Ogichidaakwe Drum is part of the spiritual responsibilities of the Ogichidaakwe role and governing of Anishinaabeg. There are other civil and military responsibilities that need to be understood in relation to Anishinaabeg governing. Anishinaabe civil and military leadership roles are never to be understood apart from the spiritual teachings of governing. The aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag are core teachings that outline the authority men and women have within each of the three aspects of governance: political, spiritual, and military. Again, balance between the genders should be inherent in all three aspects. Anishinaabe society had a distinctive feature of equality in the governing of the nation, as outlined by Eleanor Leacock in *Myths of Male Dominance*,

The authority structure of egalitarian societies where all individuals were equally dependent on a collective larger than the nuclear family, was one of wide dispersal of decision-making among mature elder women and men, who essentially made decisions—either singly, in small groups, or collectively—about those activities which it was their socially defined responsibility to carry out (1981, 24).

Women and men were equally situated within Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin structures and this is evident when Treuer describes the seating in the lodge at ceremonial or political lodge

gatherings, where one half belongs to women and the other half belongs to men (2011, 26). The key was balance through an equal delegation of spiritual, civil, and military tasks.

Ogichidaakweg

After beading and braiding together the information from the historical record, I recognized recurrent points of information that suggested women participated in war and possessed military-based authority at many levels. The historical and ethnohistorical record described and illustrated Ogichidaakwe roles and responsibilities that emerged after the onset of colonization. Terry Nelson from the Roseau River Anishinaabe First Nation says the word “O-kii-ji-da” comes from the morpheme o-chi-dah meaning “big heart people” (1997, 4).

Anishinaabe scholar McGuire Adams shared a teaching she acquired from Anishinaabe Elder Willie Wilson who is a fluent speaker of Anishinaabemowin,

If you translate *ogichitaa* it means “You are going over.” You are the one who makes things happen; you are the bridge to make things happen (2009, 22).

McGuire Adams (2009) and Leanne Simpson (2011) shared their knowledge acquired through interviewing women Elders, Ogimaabiik and Edna Manitowabi, confirming that when they raised their children they were Ogichidaakweg. An Ogichidaakwe helps oshki-niigikweg (younger Anishinaabe women) make the transition from youth into womanhood (Simpson 2011, 36). Evidence concerning roles and responsibilities of the Ogichidaakweg outlines all the tasks women perform in their motherly roles. McGuire (2009) argues that the Ogichidaakwe speaks from a lifetime of experience, and Ogimaabik says that the Ogichidaakwe way is “all the things a mother does or a grandmother and great grandmother” (24). Further emphasized by Ogimaabik is

that there are “three ways of being Ogichitaakwe: in the home, as keepers of the drum and an elder’s council” (McGuire Adams 2009, 23).

There were other roles that the Ogichidaakweg participated in which took them beyond the home and into the realm of protecting the community. Amelia Paget recorded that it was the brave women of the Cree, Saulteaux and Ojibway tribes who helped lead their husbands, brothers, and friends to victory when they were “hard pressed” by the enemy (1909, 88-89). The daring and courageous women who took part in these fights when the men were outnumbered helped them to be successful in war. Skinner (1914) provides two additional instances of Ogichidaakweg as protectors of the community. He found that two Ogichidaakweg still survived at Long Plains in the summer of 1913. Cinoskinige received her title by killing a Dakota warrior and painting her face with his blood (Skinner 1914, *Political*, 486). A second elderly unnamed woman at Long Plains was digging turnips on the prairie when a sudden attack arose and they were surrounded by the Sioux.³⁸ The woman dug a rifle pit to obscure the party, and at the same time all the men of her group were wounded. After she finished digging, the woman moved out under fire and dragged her men back to the pit she dug. In this manner she became an Ogichidaakwe (Skinner 1914, *Political*, 486).

Alexander Henry on August 31, 1799 as quoted in Coues writes about an Anishinaabe encampment near Roseau River that was anxious when a member claimed to be chased by three men on horseback (1965, 18). Henry writes that the Anishinaabe women fell to the ground instantly, digging holes to hide themselves and their children. Other scholars write about how these women protected the community in this same way (Eastman 1971, 190; Chafe 1973, 63). The women showed their protective measures and endurance by being able to dig holes and shield the children and men from harm. In McGuire Adams’s study, Elders Robin and Kathleen

Green, “explained the ogichitaakwe would do anything for their people; they would give up anything to be at the frontline, always for their people” (2009, 24).

John Tanner witnessed a woman and boy meeting up with a Sioux party, and the mother sent the boy back as she proceeded toward the enemy. Tanner heard many guns, and the old woman, Ta-bush-shish, was not heard of again (James and Tanner 1830, 170-171). In Patricia Buffalohead’s work (1983), she uncovered the story of Hanging Cloud Woman. This woman and her father were being attacked by a Dakota war party and she lay pretending to be dead near her deceased father. Then she shot the Dakota using her father’s gun. For this successful warrior exploit she was later honoured, and had a place in the lodges where war dances were performed and military honours were given to warriors (Buffalohead 1983, 244).

Ogichidaakweg participated in war dances. Some scholars recorded information that describes these war dances as “animated.” John MacLean wrote, “The animated war dance of the natives deeply impressed the beholder, as the dancers sang with great vehemence Occasionally a woman danced in their social gatherings” (1896, 176). Skinner’s work also indicates that women, on occasion, were involved in the war dance. This confirms women as active participants in the celebration and as accepted members in the war lodge (Skinner, *Political*, 486). This illustrates that men and women participated side-by-side in social activities including war dances—further indicating gender balance. This is represented in James and Tanner’s (1830) work when Tanner speaks of his adopted Ottawa (now more commonly spelled Odaawa) mother Netnokwa, who lived among the Anishinaabe “...in which Net-no-kwa always bore a very conspicuous part” (James and Tanner 1830, 106). This example shows that by recognizing those who made contributions toward the protection and aid of the community. In this case Netnokwa gifted food to community members, which was honourable. The Ogichidaag

and Ogichidaakweg both had positions in the warrior's lodge where victories were celebrated and honours were awarded (Skinner 1914, 486). It has been suggested by some past ethnologists at the turn of the nineteenth century that women were modest about their acts of bravery and courage, never speaking of such events (Paget, 1909, 88-89).

Anishinaabe women may not have spoken of their acts of bravery, but there were other indicators that displayed a woman's status as an Ogichidaakwe. For example, according to the ethnohistorical record, the symbol that identified an Ogichidaakwe within the Anishinaabe community was the eagle feather, worn by those who attained warrior titles and honours. Landes writes that "Women like this young wife, and women of preceding tales, receive the title and symbolic eagle feathers of 'brave', *ogitcida* [sic], which is a male title ideally..." (1969, 144). This is confirmed in the historical record: Nicollet observed women wearing a feather tied to their hair on the back of their heads (Bray 1970, 171).

For women who wanted to participate in war, Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin had to be followed through receiving a vision personally in a dream, or by being instructed by those who had dreams of them participating in war. One example is Chief Earth Women, who went on the war path and commanded a war party after receiving a vision through her dreams (Landes 1969, 141; Treuer, 2011, 26). The aspiring Ogichidaakwe would have practiced with the boys or other attentive girls as children taught and tested one another, becoming teachers of their own identities (Eastman 1971, 64). In the direct historical record, it is established that women participated in war expeditions. Peter Fidler wrote in his journal on September 11, 1791,

we met 4 Canoes of Southern Indians of the Beaver River, 7 men and 3 women, who are returning back to their own Country from War (Hudson's Bay Company Archives, E 3/1, folio 25).

Although this is not an Anishinaabe-specific example, such records indicate the recognition of women as valuable players in war efforts as far back as the late eighteenth century. In this case almost a third of the returning war party is women. However, Anishinaabe tradition argues that Anishinaabe women did not participate in and lead wars during the pre-contact period.

Using ceremony as method, I asked the Jiisikaaniini about the role of Ogichidaakwe. The Manidooke-gikendaasowin I received revealed that, before contact, the role of Ogichidaakwe did not exist, and that women never led wars. According to the teaching received at the Jiisikaan, the Ogichidaakwe role appeared after-contact in the Anishinaabe community. Before contact, the Ogimaa was the only one to ask about or initiate discussion of wars. The Ogimaa and his council of men were the only ones who talked about war. As the Jiisikaanini interpreter stated, “It was always like that.” Further, from the Jiisikaan method I learned that before the onset of colonization men never spoke of war in front of women, instead going to a separate location to discuss war.

The Anishinaabe community was undergoing changes from the influences of colonial activities, requiring the Anishinaabeg to adapt. The Anishinaabe men and women together created a space in response to colonization. Anishinaabe women inherited roles and responsibilities in a realm where Anishinaabe men had been dominant players.³⁹ The ogimaawiwin structure was flexible, and when the best interests of the community required change, the additional roles and responsibilities would have been welcomed by the Anishinaabe women. The best interests of the community were a foremost concern for the Anishinaabeg and were an influential factor in women adopting new roles and responsibilities.

There are no available historical recordings or ethnohistorical data that demonstrate women being participants in war before contact. However, there are strong indications that

women participated in warrior roles after the onset of colonization. These women often served as, and should be recognized as, mediators and negotiators of war (James and Tanner 1830, 36). Specifically, the role of women included the responsibility to make peace and end wars. Women's mediation and negotiation is prevalent in the historical and ethnohistorical data. Treuer (2011) found that in the summer of 1839, women ended wars by the act of approaching the enemy to make peace. Treuer writes, "Many women and children accompanied the expedition under assurances of peace from the Dakota and the Americans" (2011, 71). Tanner writes that after he returned to Pembina, two Anishinaabe women came with pipes from the Dakota country to make peace with the Anishinaabe. The Anishinaabekweg were prisoners of the Dakota and were released with a message of bring peace to the Anishinaabe (James and Tanner 1830, 64). In this way, women could achieve the title "Ogichidaakwe" through survival in the dangerous act of negotiating peace. Charles Eastman (1971), a Santee Dakota tells of two young Anishinaabe women being captured by one of his Dakota relatives. The women felt deep losses but appreciated being treated kindly. After two years, there was a great peace council between the Anishinaabe and Dakota, and the elder Anishinaabe sister said to Eastman's grandmother before leaving,

You are a brave woman and true mother. I understand now why your son so bravely conquered our band, and took my sister and myself captive. I hate him at first, but now I admire him, because he did just what my father, my brother or my husband would have done had they the opportunity. He did even more. He saved us from tomahawks of his fellow-warriors, and brought us to his home to know a noble and a brave woman (1971, 23).

The elder sister left, but the younger sister married a Dakota, saying she would make the Anishinaabe and Dakota like brothers. There were many instances of intermarriage with captive

women. Eastman found, “the mother of the well-known Sioux [Dakota] chieftain, Wabashaw, was an Ojibway [Anishinaabe] woman” (1971, 23-24).

The exceptional speaking ability of the Ogichidaakwe was recognized in Anishinaabe communities. According to the Nēhīyaw tradition,

The nēhīyaw women had specific roles that included teaching and maintaining the laws, principles and customs of their people. The women who were chosen for these roles were called *okicitaw ishwewak*. These women were law keepers (Saskatchewan Indian Cultural Centre 2009, 42).

Laws were discussed and decided on by all the women in a consensual method, and offered to the community as a contribution for the right way to live. These laws were recognized as spiritual and moral laws. The Ogichidaakwe role includes dialogue with the Ogimaakwe about the rights and laws of the people, infusing justice and fairness into these final decisions. By asserting her status, the Ogichidaakwe manages and protects the Anishinaabe community, and shares her teachings with the younger women and men. Evidence suggests that the Ogichidaakweg not only are warrior leaders but they also hold judiciary roles comparable to that of a modern-day moderator, lawyer, or adjudicator. This was confirmed at the Jiisikaan in response to my question: What is an Ogichidaakwe? According to the Jiisikaan, an Ogichidaakwe is not afraid to speak out or speak up. An Ogichidaakwe defends all the women.⁴⁰ Anishinaabe women held roles and responsibilities within the military and the civil sphere, with overarching spiritual responsibilities as keepers of the Inaakonigewin.

There is evidence to indicate that the Ogichidaa (man warrior) and Ogichidaakwe were also recognized as tribal police because of the desirable qualities of their war honours and good judgement (Howard 1965, 22). For example in Miller’s ethnohistorical study, she concluded that one function of the Anishinaabe society included policing (2010, 124). Within the specified

geographic area, the duties of the Ogichidaakwe included those of a warrior, policeman, protector, and teacher. They were at the frontline and ready to sacrifice anything for their people. Ruth Landes (1968) in her field study of the *Mystic Lake Sioux* talks about the “akitcita” this designation entailed being appointed to certain positions that responded to the chief or leader. These men and women were like protectors of the community. Those who acquired war honours were esteemed for their dignity, character, and natural leadership (Landes 1968, 69).

According to Treuer, the men who chose to live out their lives as women were called ikwekaazo, and women who chose to live life as men were called ininiikaazo; both were accepted in the community (2011, 26-28). Tanner writes ikwekaazo are called “A-go-kwa,” a word that identifies ikwekaazo with the practice of choosing the way of woman when the person is born a man (James and Tanner 1830, 105-106). Kugel outlines a third gender that undertook traditional female occupation and roles, “the male *berdache* [sic]” (1998, 72). As quoted in Coues, Alexander Henry identified and defined Berdash as “any young man who affects the ways of a woman...” (1965, 53). He used this word and sometimes spelled it berdache and Berdash in his notes. Williams (1986) found that “The word originally came from the Persian *bardaj* [*barah*], and via the Arabs [*bardaj*] spread to the Italian language as *bardasso* [*berdasia*], and to the Spanish as *bardaxa* or *badaje* [*bardaja*] ... in French as *bardache* ... (as cited in Jacobs et al. 1997, 4). Alexander Henry recorded a brave and courageous act of the “Berdash” in his writings in September 1800. In Kulchyski et al. (1999), Elder Liza Mosher notes that these individuals had special roles. They were respected and were never to be thought of as outcasts. The community understood that they were gifted to have significant spiritual power, were to be honoured at ceremonies because they were considered blessed, and were born that way. and Ininiikaazo also had roles and responsibilities that were sometimes given to them through dreams

and visions (Treuer 2011, 27). Elder Liza Mosher gives an example of the engagement of persons and their roles stating,

...if there's a woman on their time during ceremonies, feasts, gatherings, or namings, I remember that person had to do the cooking; or if a woman is on her time at home it is that one that comes in and does the cooking...That was their role. They were respected. They were known to do different things (Kulchyski 1999, 149).

It is apparent that the military and warrior roles crossed genders, and the Anishinaabe also acknowledged the importance of this third gender, which had clear roles within the community. For example, Henry writes about the son of Wesh-ko-bug [sic], who was chief Ozaw-wen-dib [sic]. He carried tobacco that had a connection to the war as cited in Coues (1965, 163). Tanner wrote about an ikwekaazo who was “womanish” [sic] in his nature and manners that was Ozaw-wen-dib who performed the occupations of women and spoke like a woman (James and Tanner 1830, 150; Treuer 2011, 27).

Alexander Henry outlines the actions of the “Berdash” who accompanied the Anishinaabe to a Dakota camp. When the Anishinaabe envoys attempts at reconciliation or peace was clearly against them the Anishinaabeg ran and were pursued. The “Berdash” fought the enemy off, fearing no danger and facing the enemy while the Anishinaabe ogichidaag ran ahead. He laid down his life, was at the frontline alone, and was very swift on his feet (Coues 1965, 163-65). Through this act of bravery, this ikwekaazo would qualify for the title of Ogichidaakwe. This direct historical evidence indicates that ikwekaazo and possibly the ininiikaazo were participants in the military sphere.

Ogimaakwe and Ogichidaakwe

The historical and ethnohistorical record is replete with references to Ogimaakwe. Miller (2010) writes, “Regardless of the origin of the chief’s authority, he (and occasionally she) had earned the trust of the people and thus the right to lead through demonstrated results” (2). Denise Lajimodiere notes that ‘Ogimah Ikwe’ [sic] means leaders [sic] woman” (2011, 57). Willmott and Brownlee record many instances of female chiefs during the eighteenth century. Treuer (2011), also presents examples of women leaders:

One notable woman who achieved highly respected leadership and influence was Gaagige-ogimaansikwe (Forever Queen) of the Pembina Band (26).

In her ethnohistorical study of the early nineteenth century, Miller found three Ojibwe bands that had women serving as Ogimaakweg, political chiefs, with one standing in for her brother (2010, 69). It was Eshkibagikoonzh (Ruth Flatmouth) who served as a proxy at diplomatic events when her brother was away from Leech Lake (Treuer 2011, 26).

There are similarities and differences that need to be clarified between the Ogichidaakwe and the Ogimaakwe roles. The similarities between these two roles could be confused. Both of these roles are Anishinaabe leadership roles. The Ogichidaakwe speaks on behalf of all women, but it is the Ogimaakwe that is the leader that represents all the women. If there is a discrepancy in a community decision made by either the male or female leadership the decision an Ogichidaakwe sets forth can be overruled by the Ogimaakwe. The Ogimaakwe is the owner of all things in the Anishinaabe community.⁴¹ The Ogimaakwe will be seen as the most cherished and honoured just as Omizakamigokwe is most cherished and honoured. As mentioned earlier, Basil Johnston writes about Omizakamigokwe who was “most immediate and cherished and

honored” (Johnston 1976, 23). An Ogimaakwe is to be seen in this respect. Omizakamigokwe is the first leader, and an Ogimaakwe is to seek her teachings and follow them.

I found historical evidence from the nineteenth century indicating three examples of the Ogichidaakwe and Ogimaakwe roles overlapping. Consider the case of Netnokwa. Although she was Odaawa, she led an Anishinaabe group in the early 1800s. Netnokwa and her family moved to the area of the Forks, located in Winnipeg, Manitoba. This is where Netnokwa’s family settled and lived. She acquired her title of Ogimaakwe through marriage, and even after the death of her husband she retained her title. James and Tanner (1830) explain that after Netnokwa’s Anishinaabe husband died, she became the leader of the Anishinaabe group he led. Tanner describes her in this way: “Net-no-kwa, who, notwithstanding her sex, was then regarded as principal chief of the Ottawwas [sic]” (James and Tanner 1830, 36). Netnokwa was referred to as a leading woman in her own right and was noted for having a position of high opinion and influence among both the Anishinaabe and the dominant trader society:

I have never met with an Indian, either man or woman, who had so much authority as Net-no-kwa. She could accomplish whatever she pleased, either with the traders or the Indians; probably, in some measure, because she never attempted to any thing [sic] which was not right and just (James and Tanner 1830, 47).

This is a fitting example of how a woman protected the aadizookaanan, aadizookaanag and Inaakonigewin — all the spiritual and moral teachings. Interestingly, Netnokwa was Odaawa and her way of being would have influenced the Boodawaadamii and Anishinaabe since they shared similar teachings and morals as they were all close allies and neighbors as noted by Treuer earlier. According to Tanner, she participated in a man’s ceremony (James and Tanner 1830, 106) but was positioned on the woman’s side of the tent (Skinner 1914, 486). It was within the Ogichidaa (man warrior) tent hunting and military accomplishments were honoured (Skinner

1914, 487). Ogichidaakwe should then be recognized as valuable players in maintaining the survival of the community, just like Netnokwa.

Ruth Landes found that the honour and title of Ogichidaakwe is given to women who have war visions acquired through dreams, like Josie Ackley (1969, 42). Frances Densmore noted that Josie Ackley, also named Bija'gajiwe'gijigo'kwe was the wife of Oza'wagi'jig, Chief John Ackley of the Lac Vieux Desert band (Densmore 1949, 26). She gained her Ogichidaakwe title beginning with a dream vision. Then she established her Ogimaakwe title and status through her marriage to Oza'wagi'jig just in the same way that Netnokwa gained her Ogimaakwe title. Indeed, according to some Anishinaabe dictionary sources, "Ogimaakwe" is defined as the "wife of chief or leader, woman leader...queen" (Nichols and Nyholm 1995, 105) as well as "a female chief" (Baraga 1992, pt. 2, 317). Bija'gajiwe'gijigo'kwe and Ozhawguscodaywaquay, (Mrs. John Johnson) each had a vision. Bija'gajiwe'gijigo'kwe's dream vision was of participating in war, and through this dream she gained the title of Ogichidaakwe. Meanwhile in the early nineteenth century Ozhawguscodaywaquay had a vision not to attack the Americans.

This third example I found of an Ogimaakwe and Ogichidaakwe role overlapping is recorded in Cleland's *Rites of Conquest* (1992). Cleland states that past recorders of history had omitted the Anishinaabeg who were saved by Ozhawguscodaywaquay because they listened to her advice. She had been blessed by a vision instructing her to inform the Anishinaabeg not to attack the Americans and if they did attack, the outcome would not be favorable (Cleland 1992, 185; Mason 1997, xxviii). The original written account of this blessing was initially written and given to Governor Lewis Cass. Philip Mason (1997) writes that Henry Schoolcraft's most valuable informant was Mrs. John Johnson, his mother-in-law, a full-blooded Chippewa. She was a woman from Chegoimegon on Lake Superior and a granddaughter of the reigning chief

and leader of the people. She remained attached to the traditions of her people and continued to speak only in her language (Cleland 1992, 23). Her social, spiritual, and civil roles included arrangement of meetings between Anishinaabe leadership and Indian Agent Schoolcraft. Her influence allowed Schoolcraft to access and to attend ceremonies that were at this time limited to the Anishinaabe membership (Cleland 1992, xxiv). This suggests that not only was the title of Ogichidaakweg acquired through political and civil acknowledgement; it also crosses into Anishinaabe spiritual roles and responsibilities. From 1824 to 1830, Thomas McKenny was Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and he paid tribute and honoured Oshawushcodawaqua in a written statement,

As to influence, there is no chief in the Chippewa nation who exercises it, when it is necessary for her to do so with equal success (Mason 1997, xxix).

Oshawushcodawaqua had an acute understanding of all three of her leadership roles, and she became an esteemed and valued woman, making her an Ogichidaakwe, not just an Ogimaakwe, as suggested by McKenny.

According to historical and ethnohistorical evidence, women were selected as leaders and Ogimaakweg as early as the nineteenth century. On the other hand, as a result of questions asked about the Ogimaakweg at the Jiisikaan I learned that the Ogimaakwe role did not exist before contact. The leadership position was entirely restricted to Anishinaabe men. I came to an understanding and interpretation that before contact, the women were responsible for the home and the happenings within the home. This is noted in Tanner's historical documentation when he observed,

Indeed, he himself was but of secondary importance in the family, as every thing [sic] belonged to Net-no-kwa, and she had the direction in all affairs of any moment (James and Tanner 1830, 37).

Van Kirk (1999) describes indigenous women being accustomed to having control of the household. At times, this led to conflict when they married European men:

After they became wives of the traders, Indian women still endeavoured to preserve the domestic autonomy to which they were accustomed. This was an aspect of women's lives which caused the fur traders considerable confusion; they did not know how to explain the fact that in spite of the onerous burdens inflicted upon the women, they were not without influence in certain areas (Van Kirk 1999, 80).

Van Kirk's research demonstrates that indigenous women who married Europeans experienced a shift or change in the way the home functioned after the onset of colonization.

My findings, including knowledge I received from attending the Jiisikaan, establish that women were responsible for happening within the home.⁴² From the evidence available, I conclude that women were not civil leaders in the pre-contact period, but acquired the role as an adaptation to the onset of colonization in order to benefit the community. Hilger (1951) found that Anishinaabe woman probably acted as chiefs, but she was uncertain. She writes that her informants also stated they never heard of women chiefs or leaders among the Anishinaabe (Hilger 1951, 153). The Ogimaakwe role was established and expanded for the same reason as the Ogichidaakwe role. The ogimaawiwinn structure was flexible enough to incorporate these roles when required if it benefitted the Anishinaabe community.

Anishinaabe scholars Rebecca Kugel (1998) and Anton Treuer (2011) confirm Anishinaabe women's participation in consensual politics and their leadership in war parties after contact. These scholars also agree that women made decisions regarding whether or not to start war and whether or not to make peace, and regarding who should be the new leader among the communities (Kugel 1998, 71-74; Treuer 2011, 26; Landes 1969, 141). Selection of leadership

was conducted by the women, specifically the grandmothers (Maracle 2006, 48). Elder Lawrence Henry confirms that within the community at Roseau River, Manitoba,

As time passed, when a leader was required to retire, then the best candidate would be chosen by the grandmothers of the community. The grandmothers would decide amongst themselves as to who would be the leader. Then the grandmothers would approach the chosen one and lift them up from, usually the sitting position, and parade the new Leader around the lodge for all the community to see (Henry, 1993, n.p.).

Renee Mzineghiizhigo-kwe Bedard cites Anishinaabe Elder Art Solomon who describes Anishinaabe women's positioning in this way; "That is the place made for her by the Creator. It is the place of highest honour [a]nd the reasons why men should honour Women" (2006, 66). According to one Anishinaabe Elder Vera Martin, "The grandmothers would call you on your behavior, including the leaders," as quoted in Anderson (2000, 238). Patricia Buffalohead shares her findings of the Ogichidaakwe, writing about "the possibility that this position was institutionalized, that there was a patterned, community-recognized way of becoming a women warrior" (1983, 244). The ways to achieve the status of Ogichidaakwe have been outlined within the previous examples. The main, recognized way in becoming an Ogichidaakwe was through a courageous act of bravery.

Kwaakinodikendan (Learning it the True Way)

In this thesis, I have used a triangulation of methods, the ethnohistorical, the historical and the Jiisikaan methods, to reconstruct the Ogichidaakwe role. Since the Jiisikaan as a method is new to academia, I identified, defined, and described how the methodology used in the design as part of my research. The Jiisikaan as a research method became just as valuable as the historical and ethnohistorical research itself. After presenting this information and data, I analyzed the evidence: from my interpretation, the evidence indicated the importance of both spirituality and the maintenance of balance, two dominant themes. Knowledge acquired through the experience of the Jiisikaan ceremony and confirmed through teachings received from the Jiisakiiwikwe opened up new possibilities and understandings of the Ogichidaakwe role. What I learned from this experience was not to walk into any setting with pre-conceived assumptions.

Anishinaabe spirituality was a central theme within this research. I conducted ceremony beginning, during and at concluding points of my research. The Anishinaabe are spirit-driven people. Indeed, the word Anishinaabe itself is believed by the Anishinaabe to be spiritually derived. The Anishinaabeg are spiritual beings and spiritual practices are inherent in everyday use. Maintaining balance and spirituality were two dominant themes that resulted and emerged from and encompassed my research. In Anishinaabe governing, the objective is to ensure gender-balanced decision making in community matters.

One of the most unique findings was how the Ogichidaakwe leadership interconnected with distinct women-based aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag where Inaakonigewin teachings are inherent. These Inaakonigewin leadership teachings are passed on orally through the women-based aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag teaching ethics and values to live by. Lee Maracle shares her understanding of the matter of laws by generalizing all First Nations:

The laws that governed First Nations were recognized and embraced as the basis for mature decision making. They were rooted in the social praxis of each nation, which carefully structured the lives of its children, the expectations of those children to embark upon a journey that would result in adult being. The culture required that each child become a deep-thinking child with a consciousness that was fair, sharing, just and caring. Oracy—stories of behavior and consequence—was the major disciplinary force exerted upon children (2006, 40-41).

These teachings all advocate that balance is the primary goal in Anishinaabe life. These women-based aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag acknowledge the first Ogichidaakweg and Ogimaakweg who exercise strength to sustain and maintain life are acknowledged.

In addition, this research found that Inaakonigewin teachings are inherent in Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin teachings. The Anishinaabe ogimaawiwin teaches that there is no separation of the spiritual, civil, and military elements of governing. Within the Inaakonigewin teachings are four sub-teachings: nizhwasso gikinoo'amaagewin (seven teachings), mino-bimaadiziwin, onjinewin, and maada' oonidiwin. These teachings instruct us to maintain balance across all the governing spheres.

From my interpretation of the shake tent teachings, I can establish that women did not participate in military or civil leadership roles, including any facet of war, before contact. Although it is possible there is evidence that I have not uncovered, I found no ethnohistorical or historical evidence that indicates or supports that women participated in military or civil roles before contact. In addition, ethnohistorical evidence also indicates that the Ogichidaakwe role was a post-contact phenomenon. In the historical record there have been, at times, inaccurate assessments of Anishinaabe leadership characteristics and knowledge. This can be attributed to Europeans not having an intimate understanding of Anishinaabe leadership paradigms. After contact, the Ogichidaakwe role appeared and came to be entrenched, not only within the general

Anishinaabe socio-political framework, but also in the ogimaawiwin structure. The Ogichidaakwe role intersects with all three areas of Anishinaabe governance: the spiritual, the civil, and the military. Evidence indicates that honour of receiving the Ogichidaakwe title can be acquired through acts of courage, a vision or dream, gaining experience, and with age.

The historical and ethnohistorical evidence showed that in times when the best interests of the Anishinaabe community were questioned regarding war, there were many reasons women inherited the Ogichidaakwe role and participated in war. With the influx of the French and English missionaries and other colonial agents, new diseases came, and wars over land began wiping out mass numbers of Anishinaabe men. My research showed that by the late nineteenth century, the gendered nature of colonialism had caused an unequal and unbalanced distribution of roles and responsibilities between Anishinaabe men and women. The Anishinaabeg were forced to adapt to the new political and social environments. Melissa Meyer (1994) found that the Anishinaabe were not passive victims in the process but instead developed strategies for adaptation and survival.

The Ogichidaakweg were noted for their exceptional speaking ability, which they used on behalf of all the women. The Ogichidaakwe role was likened to that of a modern day lawyer.⁴³ In a sense, the Ogichidaakwe were members of a judiciary upholding Anishinaabe law—the Inaakonigewin. Ogichidaakweg policed the communities and were recognized as protectors of the community. In addition, my research findings also indicate that Ogichidaakweg were mediators, negotiators, and adjudicators. All Anishinaabekweg were active in putting forth advice and suggestions for the betterment of the community. They did so using a consensus method. The head Ogimaakwe was the woman who communicated the advice of all the women as a whole to the Ogimaa (male leader). Selection of leaders was a role and responsibility of the

Ogimaakweg, Ogichidaakweg and the Ookomimag (grandmothers). After the onset of colonization, women held these significant civil and military leadership roles, but eventually the colonizers appropriated both of them.

Numerous accounts of the protective actions of Ogichidaakweg describe the digging of holes and pits to defend the children and men of the community. Furthermore, the Ogichidaakwe Drum is symbolic of the peace that was made between the Anishinaabe and Dakota people. For one Dakota woman a visionary dream revealed that she was obligated to construct this drum. The Ogichidaakweg protected and transmitted knowledge of the drums, as well as the language and oral teachings, by guarding them throughout the colonial experience. Therefore, after contact the Ogichidaakweg started wars, commanded wars, ended wars, and were messengers of peace after contact.

In Anishinaabe society, the Ogichidaakwe role crossed not only governing units, but also genders, recognizing and honouring the ikwekaazo (men who live their lives as women) and ininiikaazo (women who live their lives as men). Ikwekaazo and ininiikaazo had important roles and responsibilities in day-to-day Anishinaabe society, including civil, military, and spiritual leadership roles.

In the ethnohistorical and historical evidence there are indications that the Ogimaakwe role sometimes overlapped with the Ogichidaakwe role. According to the ethnohistorical evidence, the Ogimaakwe could attain her title through marriage, receive a vision or dream. If a woman had no warrior accomplishments, it was only with experience and age that she gains the title of Ogichidaakwe. However, if an Anishinaabekwe was young and successful in an act of bravery she could attain the title of an Ogichidaakwe, gaining her place in the war lodge and acquiring a feather indicative of her military accomplishment. Without having an expert level of

Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin about the Ogimaakwe role and responsibility, I cannot give a detailed analysis on whether this role holds more power and authority than the Ogichidaakwe role. However, both leadership positions require the Ogimaakwe and Ogichidaakwe to represent all Anishinaabe women in the community.

There were eighteen examples of Ogichidaakweg found in this research. Eight of these Ogichidaakweg had the additional role and responsibility of Ogimaakweg. Of these eight overlapping Ogichidaakweg and Ogimaakweg, five are from the Anishinaabe aadizookaanan and aadizookaanag. These include Nookomis, Omizakamigokwe, Nookomis Nodin, Nookomis Ghiizhiik and Gizhigookwe. Three historically documented Anishinaabe women who held the title of Ogichidaakwe and Ogimaakweg are Ogichidaakwe and Ogimaakwe Netnokwa, Ogichidaakwe and Ogimaakwe Ozhawgasco dayquay, and Ogichidaakwe and Ogimaakwe Bija'gajikwe'gijigo'kwe. Additional Anishinaabe women who held the title Ogichidaakwe include Ogichidaakwe Mikwedaagozid, who is identified in LaDuke's work; Ogichidaakwe Cinoskinige and a second Ogichidaakwe who was an unnamed elderly woman, both found in Skinner's research, Ogichidaakwe Hanging Cloud Woman, described in Buffalohead's research; Ogichidaakwe Ta-bush-shish and Ogichidaakwe Ozaw-wen-dib and the many Ogichidaakweg who accompanied the men to make peace with the Dakota, all found in Treuer's research; and Ogichidaakwe Chief Earth Woman in Landes' research.

Further Research

Being limited by the constraints of completing a master's thesis, I encourage other researchers to continue searching and understanding women's roles in Anishinaabe society. As mentioned, the Ogimaakweg role and the spiritual roles are significant. In addition to this, I encourage researchers to incorporate ceremony into their research, because it is ethical. As recommended by Brandt-Castellano (2004),

In the world of Aboriginal knowledge, a discussion of ethics cannot be limited to devising a set of rules to guide researcher behavior in a defined task. Ethics, the rules of right behavior, are intimately related to who you are, the deep values you subscribe to, and your understanding of your place in the spiritual order of reality. Ethics are integral to the way of life of a people (103).

However, it must be noted that research undertakings like this one is not for everyone. This particular research design is for those future Anishinaabe scholars who have the experiential learning and understanding of the Jiisikaan izhichigewin. This kind of research is also for those non-Anishinaabe scholars who have been immersed in the Anishinaabe inaadiziwin or those scholars who have an interest and make a commitment to the Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin. This research may also encourage Indigenous researchers from other traditions to seek integrative and innovate ways to indigenize research. It is my hope this research will open doors for new relationships and as a new research opportunity for all scholars.

Anishinaabemowin Lexicon

Aadizookaan(an)

Anishinaabe narratives and ancient stories

Aadizookaan(ag)

Anishinaabe narrative with a sacred being or spirit in it

Anishinaabe(g)

The Ojibwe people

Anishinaabe-gikendaasowin

Anishinaabe knowledge

Anishinaabe-inaadiziwin

Way of life, culture

Anishinaabe-inendamowin(an)

Way of knowing or thinking

Anishinaabe-izhichigewin

Way of doing

Anishinaabe-izhitwaawin

Customs

Anishinaabekwe(g)

Anishinaabe woman

Anishinaabemowin

Anishinaabe language

Asemma

Tobacco, one of the four sacred medicines

Anishinaabe-Ayaawin

Way of being

Debwewin

The truth, a person's ability to tell the truth through understanding and command of the language

Dibaajimowin (an)

Experiential teachings of narrative and oral histories

Ekinama'diwin

Ancient Anishinaabe teachings

Gaa-ginooshkodeyaag
Long Plain First Nation

Gaa-wiikwedaawagaak
Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nation

Gagige Inakonige
The Eternal Natural Laws

Gichi gikinoo'amaagewinan
Ancient Anishinaabe teachings

Gikinoo'amaagowin Anishinaabeg
Teaching the Anishinaabe People knowledge from a source of truth and looking into your eyes

Gikinoo'amaagewinan
Ancient Anishinaabe teachings

Giizhik
Cedar

Gikendaasowin
Knowledge

Gizhigookwe
Sky woman who re-created mother earth or new or first woman

Gookoomisinaanig
Grandmothers, both literally and spiritually

Gimishomisinaanig
Grandfathers, both literally and spiritually

Gwayahkoo'shkawin
Balance

Gwa-yah-koo'-shka-win'
Balance

Ikwekaazo
Men who live their lives as women

Ininiikazzo
Women who live their lives as men

Inaakonigewin (an)
Anishinaabe matter of law(s)

Jiisakii(d)
The one who performs the shake tent ceremony

Jiisikaan
An ancient researching method of the Anishinaabeg called the shake tent

Jiisakiiwininii
Male practitioner of the shake tent

Jiisakiiwikwe
Female practitioner of the shake tent

Kwaakinodikendan
Learning it the accurate way

Maada'oonidiwin
Sharing

Madoodooswaan
Sweatlodge

Manidooke-gikendaasowin
Sacred knowledge or spirit knowledge acquired at ceremony

Midewewin
One of the Anishinaabe lodge teachings where healing is acquired through oral story

Mikinaak
Turtle

Mino-bimaadiziwin
The good life

Netnokwa
John Tanner's adopted mother's personal name

Nijaanisag
My children

Niikawe
Anishinaabeg who are known as those who speak differently

Niizhwaaswi gikino'amaagewinan
Seven Teachings

Nindoodoo
My mother

Niniigi'igoog
My parents

Nookomis
Grandmother moon

Nookomis Giizhik
Grandmother Cedar

Nookomis Nodin
Grandmotehr Wind

Ogichidaa(g)
Anishinaabe male ceremonial leader, warrior(s), a sacred person

Ogichidaakwe(g)
Anishinaabe female leader(s), warrior(s) also known as woman warrior- a scared woman

Ogimaa(g)
Anishinaabe male leader

Ogimaakwe
Anishinaabe female leader

Ogimaawiwin
Anishinaabe governance or governing

Ogimaawin
Anishinaabe government

Omizakamigokwe
Mother Earth or all over the earth woman

Ookomimag
Grandmothers

Onjinewin

One governing code of the Inaakonigewin and means if one knowingly harms any other aspect of creation that individual or individual's loved ones will experience a not so good experience harm equal to that committed

Oshki-niigikwe(g)
Young Anishinaabe woman

Oshkaabewisag
Pipe Carriers

Wiindigoo
Other than human cannibalistic being

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Endnotes

¹ Geniysz states that before presenting research one should always begin by introducing the source of one's teachings and acknowledge these individuals in *Our Knowledge is not Primitive: Decolonizing Botanical Anishinaabe Teachings* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), xi.

² Geniysz defines izhitwaawin as culture, teachings and customs, 11, xv; Simpson, 142; Baraga, pt. 2, 150; Nichols and Nyholm, 72; Patricia Ningewance, *Talking Gookom's Language: Learning Ojibwe* (Lac Seul: Mazinaate Press, 2008), 258.

³ In ethnohistoric data concerning the identification of the people in Manitoba, specifically at Long Plain First Nation is slightly inaccurate. As a registered member of Long Plain First Nation I learned that the influx of researchers who came to the reserve during the 1960s was bothersome for some community members. Willie Ermine, Raven Sinclair and Bonnie Jeffery note, "This problem is exacerbated by the fact that Indigenous people, tired of being studied, passively resisted researchers with untruths and deliberately fictitious information" in *The Ethics of Research Involving Indigenous Peoples*, Report of the Indigenous Peoples Health Research Centre to the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics (Saskatoon: Indigenous Peoples Health Research Centre, July 2004), 12; Alanson Skinner (1914) points out he had a feeling the Bungi have cultural differences from the Saulteaux and names the 'nakawiniak' (which means those who speak differently) in *Political Organization, Cults, and Ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree Indians*, American Museum of Natural History, Volume XI, Part VI (New York: Published by Order of Trustees, 1914), 478. Some people that live at Long Plain First Nation are Niikaawe and may be not Bungi or Ojibwe as stated by previous scholars. Don Daniels (2005) who is a community Elder, historian, herbal specialist, doctor and practitioner, at the end of his Long Plain community history book identifies himself as Niikaawe. This available historical data indicates the confusion that can be caused by a pattern of naming and renaming groups of people. Laura Peers confirms this finding in a report done by Peter Fidler. Fidler identified in James Isham's 1743 journals when he shared some of the "Nakawawuck" language in his Fort Dauphin District Report. (1987) in "An Ethnohistory of the Western Ojibwa, 1780-1830." (master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1987), 23. I self-identify as Anishinaabe-Niikawe. This requirement arises out of the consistent naming and renaming of the Anishinaabeg by the colonizers.

⁴ Patricia Ningewance, *Pocket Ojibwe: A Phrasebook for Nearly All Occasions* (Winnipeg: Mazinaate, 2009), 164.

⁵ My daughter's name is Gizhigookwe, but it is not my place to tell the meaning of her name and how she received it. This is her story and according to Anishinaabe custom I may share her name but not the story of how she got her name.

⁶ Spigelman posits that personal experience and writing bridges the writer and audience. I speak to my personal facts and my experiential accounts detailing my life experience and worldview which is discussed in *Personally Speaking: Experience as Evidence in Academic Discourse* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 38-39, 50-52, 57, 58, 61. In addition to this, I want to add that since I began my research journey the teachings of Anishinaabe words and other teachings are ongoing. My experiential learning of words and teachings is received from my mother, who explains that "Giidoniimigon" is a particular word that is old and most likely not to be found in a dictionary.

⁷ I am specifically to use Queen, a teaching received from Don Daniels when I received my spirit name at the age of eight years old.

⁸ Matthews and Roulette explain when referring to the grandfathers, this is the formal way, 280; Geniysz explains that when an offering is made to "gimishoomisinaanig," it means our grandfathers, 56. It is my understanding that the term is used when in prayer acknowledging the grandfathers and grandmothers. These terms were also shared by a colleague and friend, Darren Courchene. He explained that gookoomisinaanig and gimishoomisinaanig are spiritual references to acknowledge grandmothers and grandfathers when in prayer.

⁹ The teaching I have received from my geographical area is that there is no name for the one who has created and given life to all the beings on the earth. Reference to the most sacred being cannot be given a name.

¹⁰ Treaty One was the first signed treaty between the Anishinaabe and British Crown. The Crown agreed to protect the lands set aside for the signatories to Treaty One. The signatories include Brokenhead Ojibway Nation, Long Plain First Nation, Swan Lake First Nation, Roseau River Anishinaabe First Nation, Sandy Bay Ojibway First Nation, Peguis First Nation, and Sagkeeng First Nation.

¹¹ Benton-Banai discusses the seven prophets in his migration narrative about the Anishinaabeg East to West movement in the *Mishomis Book*, 94-102.

¹² Nichols and Nyholm define ogichidaa as warrior, ceremonial headman, 105; Baraga spells and defines Ogitchida as a brave warrior, a brave, a hero, 318; Nelson, Anishinaabe Aki, 4.

¹³ Treuer writes directly to his readers, “I use the word *Indian* intentionally, with full knowledge of its shortcomings.” He outlines his reasoning by quoting Sherman Alexie, “The white man tried to take our land, our sovereignty and our languages. And he gave us the word ‘Indian.’ Now he wants to take the word ‘Indian’ away from us too. Well he can’t have it,” 12. I agree with his next statement about the words native and aboriginal that they are ambiguous and I use these words throughout this thesis. I use the words white and Indian in this particular explanation in their historical construct.

¹⁴ Genuisz explains gikendaasowin is specific Anishinaabe knowledge and synthesis of personal teachings, 11; Baraga spells it kikendassowin and defines it as knowledge (science), pt. 2, 187 and pt. 1, 152. I will use the word as Anishinaabe gikendaasowin or knowledge.

¹⁵ Benton Banai uses the spelling Ekinama’diwin for ancient Anishinaabe teachings.

¹⁶ Please see Debassige, “Re-conceptualizing Mino-bimaadiziwin (the good life) as Research Methodology: A Spirit-centered Way in Anishinaabe Research,” *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 33 no. 10 (2010): 11-28.

¹⁷ Jiisikaan attended on June 15, 2012.

¹⁸ Nichols and Nyholm, 245.

¹⁹ As Ruml points out, regarding the variation, “This is a good example of the difficulty in trying to systemize Aboriginal teachings. The teachings vary from individual to individual and society to society or lodge to lodge. People are taught to follow their own teachings but also to respect the beliefs of others, even if their beliefs are different” (165).

²⁰ For more on this, see Matthews and Roulette, 2003, 278-279, 290; Howard, 1965, 99; Hallowell, 1976, 383; Cesaire 1972, 74-75).

²¹ For more on this, see Leanne Simpson, *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back: Stories of Nishnaabeg Re-Creation, Resurgence and a New Experience* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011), 59; John Nichols and Earl Nyholm, *A Concise Dictionary of Minnesota Ojibwe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995) 44, 107; Patricia Ningewance, *Talking Gookom’s Language: Learning Ojibwe* (Lac Seul: Mazinaate Press, 2008), 241; John Burrows, *Drawing out the Law: A Spirit’s Guide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 241.

²² In my understanding the number of poles used in the shake tent depends on the gift or dream one has for the ceremony.

²³ Bray shares Joseph Nicollet’s description of a Jiisikaan as being 20 feet in height. He also uses words when describing the shake tent ceremony that are questionable. A structure that high seems to be fitting for living space not for a ceremony. I have tried to conceive a lodge that high and its purpose for does not correlate with the shake tent from the information I have gathered as well as from the information I have gained from experience. Nicollet’s description seems exaggerated, 216. On the other hand, even though it seems odd, one can never know what a dream can bring to a person such as having a big Jiisikaan lodge such as the one Nicollett describes in his work.

²⁴ Genuisz shares gikendaasowin gained from Keewaydinoquay and also says protocols of Anishinaabe izhitwaawin dictate that we must make an offering of asemaa when asking for assistance of another being (animate or inanimate), 55; Kulchyski, McCaskill and Newhouse include Liza Mosher, an Odaawa Elder from Manitoulin Island, Ontario who explains the importance and protocol for offering tobacco, 148; Johnson spells the word as Saemauh for tobacco and says it is used as incense and to offer tobacco was a tantamount expression to the Creator in *The Manitous*, 246.

²⁵ The Jiisikaan sponsor is the person requesting the Jiisikaan ceremony.

²⁶ A gift is presented by the sponsor to the Jiisakiid to gain desired knowledge. You put forward what you are able to offer and what you think is suitable.

²⁷ Hallowell wrote about a different language in his experience (1971, 50). The language used during ceremony is referred to as the spirit language.

²⁸ The ethical space needs to narrow, rather than widen as Western and Anishinaabe systems of knowledge can honor each other’s systems of knowledge and worldviews.

²⁹ I cannot provide a diagram for this symbolic relationship. As an Anishinaabekwe I have been taught never to create something that is not going to be used. I will not be using the shake tent to assist anyone as I am not a Jiisakiid therefore I cannot build one even if it is an image. Please see Hallowell, *The Ojibway of Beren’s River*.

³⁰ Mathews and Roulette explain that the word aadizookaanag is a general term for divine beings and for mythic characters in the stories told or commonly known as winter legends (only told in this season), 268.

³¹ Jiisikaan ceremony attended June 15, 2012

³² Johnston teaches that the word means grandmother; these are the principal teachers and guardians of knowledge in *The Manitous*, 243; Johnston spells the word as N’okomiss; N’oko and he shares that Winonah’s mother is “the

symbol of all grandmothers in their role as the pre-eminent teachers and safe guardians of the cultural and spiritual heritage of the people”, in *Anishinaubae Thesaurus*, 17.

³³ Johnston says Sky Woman is a Manitou who dwells in the heavens and is the mother of the Anishinaabe people and nation in *The Manitous*, 241.

³⁴ Basil Johnston teaches this is Mother Earth, and that by breathing the breath of life into the clutch of soil Geezhigo-quae [sic] had etched around the rim of the Giant Turtle’s shell, causing it to swell and grow into a continent, she infused into the earth the attributes of motherhood: nourishment, clothing, shelter, healing, and teaching. See Johnston, *Anishinaubae Thesaurus* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2007), 17.

³⁵ Jiisikiiwikwe teaching at Jiisikaan ceremony attended June 15, 2012.

³⁶ Matthews and Roulette explain that through a vision of Tail Feather Woman, a Sioux woman in the 1870s the dream dance originated. This drum would bring peace between the Sioux and the Ojibwe and further protection from the white soldiers. The original “Squaw Drum” was to travel and it was gifted to an Ojibwe woman in Minnesota. The songs and dance were to be shared and passed on to others with a new drum built every four years, 265; Treuer confirms that according to legend the drum came so that the Ojibwe and Dakota would not kill one another and that peace would be provided for them, 143.

³⁷ At the Jiisikaan ceremony attended on June 15, 2012 it was confirmed this drum existed in the lands near North Dakota and Minnesota but in the language there is no mention made to names of the States. It was explained in the Anishinaabe language and this area was identified as the original lands of the Dakota people.

³⁸ The term Sioux is not how the Dakota, Nakota, Lakota, Hunkpapa, and others identify themselves, however in the historical source, Skinner uses this term and does not clarify what people he is referring to.

³⁹ Jiisikiiwikwe teaching at Jiisikaan ceremony attended June 15, 2012.

⁴⁰ Jiisikiiwikwe teaching at Jiisikaan ceremony attended on June 15, 2012

⁴¹ Jiisikaan helper and Jiisakiwininii, Morris Lafort commented at Jiisikaan ceremony attended June 15, 2012

⁴² Jiisikiiwikwe teaching at Jiisikaan ceremony attended June 15, 2012.

⁴³ Jiisikaan helper and Jiisakiwininii, Morris Lafort commented at Jiisikaan ceremony attended June 15, 2012.